

*The Human Side  
of  
Hawaii*

*Albert W. Palmer*

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THE HUMAN SIDE OF HAWAII



*R. J. Baker Photo.*

“YOUTH COMES UP!”

An “American citizen of Japanese Ancestry” inquires what the future holds in store for him!

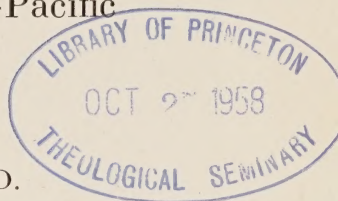
# THE HUMAN SIDE OF HAWAII

Race Problems in the Mid-Pacific

By

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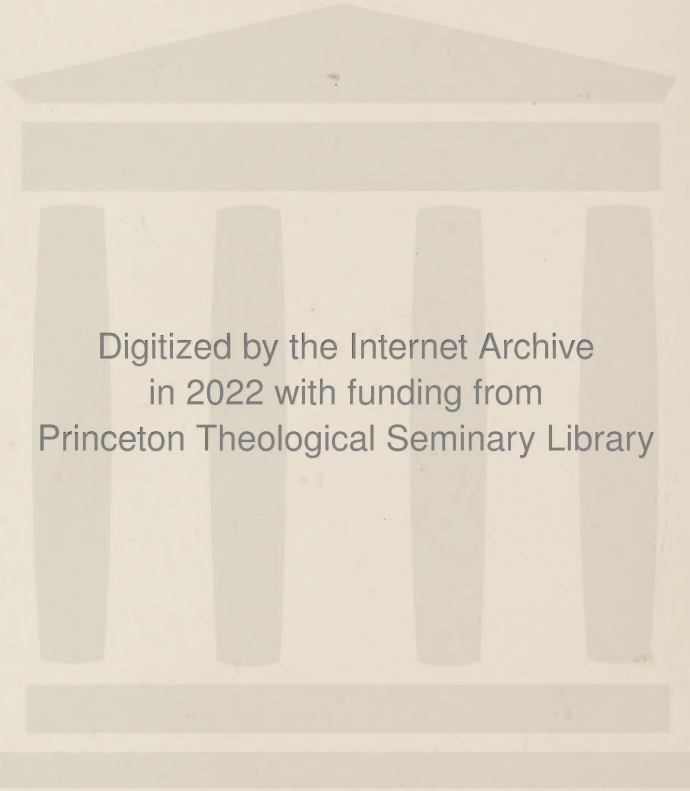


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ARTHUR ARLETT

A CALIFORNIAN WHO LOVED HAWAII AND  
DIED ON HALEAKALA, "THE BELOVED  
MOUNTAIN," NOVEMBER 15, 1921



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## PREFACE

This book is the story of how East and West have met and still are meeting in Hawaii. It is based on a series of lectures which the author had the privilege of delivering in New York City in 1922 by the invitation of Union Theological Seminary. By permission of the Seminary these lectures were also given at Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California; Oberlin College; Andover Theological Seminary; Pomona College and, in part, at Hartford Theological Seminary and Yale Divinity School.

The author's hearty appreciation goes out to Union Theological Seminary for this opportunity to interpret Hawaii and for the privilege of publication; to the many friends who have offered materials, suggestions and criticisms; and to the photographers who have so generously allowed the use of pictures for the illustrations.



## INTRODUCTION

### *The Purpose of this Book*

Out in the middle of the Pacific there is a fragment of America which America gravely misunderstands or, at best, regards but superficially and lightly. The Hawaiian Islands suggest to the average American only Waikiki and "the lazy languorous latitudes of the Pacific." The purpose of this book is to correct this misunderstanding and to set forth the real significance of Hawaii. It is not a land of hula dances, grass skirts and ukeleles — that is only the muddy foam on the beach and largely a matter of artificial stimulation for tourist trade and financial profit. Neither is Hawaii merely a land of sugar-cane and pineapples — that is its necessary economic basis, but not its deeper meaning.

### *Where East and West Meet*

Deeper than grotesque amusements or commercial prosperity lies the tremendous human meaning of Hawaii. It is one of the two absolutely outstanding places in the world where East and West have met and mingled. The other is Constantinople. But what a contrast between Honolulu and Constantinople — a contrast in background, in present conditions and above all in hope. Whereas the Straits of the Bosphorus have been for centuries the despair of the world, the Hawaiian Islands can almost as truthfully be called its door of hope.

### *First Impressions of Hawaii*

Hope, it must be granted, is not the impression which first comes when the traveler steps off the dock at Honolulu. After the pleasant excitement of being decorated with wreaths of flowers and driven through garden-bordered streets has





*Williams Photo.*

HAWAIIAN GIRLS SELLING LEIS OR WREATHS AT THE STEAMER DOCK

passed away, and the observer pauses to take in the human tide, the impression of brown faces and Oriental eyes, with the sinister presence of soldiers in uniform at every turn, makes him feel that the man must be an optimist indeed who could describe Hawaii as a door of hope from a human standpoint.

*A Visitor's Questions*

Is this really a part of America? Are not the people of Hawaii slightly demented to think of statehood? Is not white and Christian America sure to lose out here ultimately and be overwhelmed by this ever rising Oriental tide? The soldiers may represent a temporary military ascendancy, but must not the children of its soil, after all, determine in the end what the civilization of the land shall be? And are not these children hopelessly un-American?

*An Interracial Experiment Station*

The answer to such natural questions and misgivings is that Hawaii is America's and the world's interracial experiment station and that he who sees only the conspicuous but not especially significant soldiers and the brown-skinned people sees only the surface. He who would see deeper must know something of the history of each of these various racial groups, something of the traditions of Hawaii, something of its schools and the social and religious forces which are molding Chinese and Japanese, Hawaiians, Portuguese and Filipinos into an American community.

*An Exotic Civilization*

It is characteristic of Hawaii that many of its most trivial and of its most important things have come from abroad. The grass skirt came from the South Seas—the ancient Hawaiians wore tapa, a kind of paper cloth made from bark. The ukelele is a Portuguese importation, called ukelele or “jumping flea” by the Hawaiians in derision. So also

Hawaii's religions, Christianity and Buddhism, are exotic and its population has been largely drawn from overseas, less than one-fifth of it being of the native Polynesian race.

### *The Arrangement of the Book*

Facts like these explain why parts of this book are historical. One must know the history to understand the present situation. If other pages read like missionary annals it is because the missionary activity was a fundamental part of the history. If yet other pages appear to be a discussion of race problems — well, these are the master problems which Hawaii's history has inevitably brought upon her. And if yet other pages seem like a tract on Americanization — then again it must be said that Americanization is the great and fascinating work under way in Hawaii.

### *First Western Influences*

The first chapter therefore will deal with the missionary background from 1820 to 1860. In this period the Polynesian race was Christianized and Westernized. Ethnologists are not sure but generally incline to think that the Polynesians, who include also the Maoris of New Zealand and the people of Tahiti, Samoa and the Marquesas, came originally from India. But if their origin was in the East, they became to a considerable degree Westernized by their contact with the missionary and the whaler and adopted a Western and generally Protestant form of Christianity. This period therefore represents the first meeting of East and West in Hawaii.

### *A Peaceful Invasion*

The second chapter will tell the story of the second alien invasion of Hawaii — this time the great flood of Oriental laborers, Chinese and Japanese, in the period from 1860 to 1900. Here an ascendent Western civilization was almost completely inundated by the human flood from the East which



came at a time when, in numbers, vitality and morale, Hawaii was least prepared to receive and assimilate it.

*The Problems of Today*

The succeeding chapters present the human situation as it is in Hawaii today — the racial difficulties and educational achievements, the industrial problem and the Japanese question. In each case the object is to show the forces at work, the prevailing drift of progress and the bearing of it all on the larger problems of the Pacific.

*Hawaii's Responsibility*

How will it all come out? Will Hawaii at last be American or Japanese? Will it be Christian or Buddhist? East and West are meeting here — which will prevail? Or will each learn something from the other? Will they meet to fight and snarl at one another or to appreciate and understand each other to the helping of the world? The fact that such questions can be asked indicates the tremendous significance of Hawaii for every thoughtful American. These questions also reveal something of the responsibility resting upon every American resident in Hawaii to be an ambassador of good will to the various races gathered there — a responsibility which, on the whole, is largely recognized and nobly lived up to by editors, teachers, social and religious workers and even the business men of the community.

The problems of the Pacific, while delicate and dangerous enough, are hopeful in comparison with those of Europe. America is definitely committed to an interest in them by the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments and has dealt benevolently with China and with the Philippines. Japan, receding from its earlier aggressive attitude, has returned Shantung, withdrawn from Siberia and given evidence of a purpose to play the game honorably. China may be

saved and a new era of international morality may dawn in the Pacific.

### *Hawaii's Strategic Importance*

Of all this Hawaii is in some sort a symbol and in it she may play a vital part. For is not the importance of Hawaii primarily educational rather than commercial or even military? In Hawaii may be demonstrated, first of all, an interracial civilization characterized by Christian good will and free American institutions. Out of this may go back to China and Japan leaders of their own race trained in this atmosphere of good will and freedom. And into it, as a vestibule to the Orient, might well come for further training and preparation those young people of America who are destined ultimately for social, religious, diplomatic or educational service in the Far East.

### *What Verdict Fifty Years Hence?*

Sometimes I wonder how this book will be appraised by the historian who, fifty years from now, may chance upon it in his search for the view-point and opinions of an earlier day. Will he say it was too optimistic — that the forces of racial inertia, human prejudice and world-wide strife were too great and that the hopes of Hawaii as a testing ground of interracial good will proved futile and chimerical? Or will he find in this book a reasoned foresight and well-grounded anticipation of the trend of progress?

### *The Future in the Balance*

It is a case where "the will to believe" may turn the balance. If enough people believe in meeting Hawaii's problems in the Christian spirit, there is a reasonable hope of success. If enough people fail to accept this approach and try to deal with Hawaii's problems by sheer coercion or blind force and in a spirit of arrogant race pride, than Hawaii will only go the embittered way that Europe has gone already.

This book is, therefore, both a description of conditions and a rallying cry for all men of good will to help move those conditions forward in the direction so hopefully possible.

*Race Between Education and Catastrophe*

H. G. Wells has described history as "a race between education and catastrophe." It is just that in Hawaii, and this book seeks to promote those social, economic, religious and interracial attitudes of mind which help make up the kind of education that will prevent catastrophe. Fifty years more will tell the story! But, meanwhile, Hawaii is going to be a tremendously interesting social laboratory in which to observe or, better yet, in which to live and have a part in the experiments.





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## FAIR HAWAII

Fair Hawaii, land of rainbows,  
Flashing reef and opal sea,  
Mauna Loa white with snow-drifts,  
Waving palms of Waikiki,  
Cloud-capped peaks of mighty Maui,  
Canyon temples of Kauai —  
Nature's God in love and beauty  
Lifted up thy crags on high!

Fair Hawaii, thine the story  
Of the pilgrim souls who came,  
Daring seas, enduring exile,  
Christ's true gospel to proclaim.  
God of missionary fathers,  
Grant us courage, faith and light,  
Lead us out in paths of service,  
Make us valiant for the right!

Fair Hawaii, we thy children  
Our aloha pledge to thee,  
New-found brothers from all races  
Gathered here in unity.  
O thou God of peace and justice,  
Help us in true love to dwell;  
Make our thoughts and deeds fraternal  
Earth's great brotherhood foretell.

— A. W. P.



## CHAPTER I

# HAWAII'S HISTORICAL AND MISSIONARY BACKGROUND

### *Natural Beauty*

Hawaii is a land of rainbows, flashing reefs, opalescent seas and waving palms. It is a land of noble cliffs, mighty mountains and awe-inspiring volcanoes. It is a land of grass-green fields of sugar-cane, gray-green fields of pineapples, velvet-green hills crowned with enormous masses of clouds that build white fairy-lands in the sky above them. It is a land of blue skies and of moonlight, so luminous and golden that it casts a rainbow of its own and makes more fairy-like a landscape that is already incomparably romantic.

### *Cross-roads of the Pacific*

Hawaii is the paradise of the Pacific, located at one of the converging travel centers of the world. It is 2100 miles from San Francisco, 3400 miles from Yokohama, 5000 miles from Melbourne, 4600 miles from Panama and, by no means least important, 5360 miles from the North Pole! Just inside the tropics it is, nevertheless, cooled by the trade-winds of the North Pacific so that its normal range of temperature summer and winter is from 60 to 90. Hawaii is about the size of the states of Connecticut and Rhode Island combined, and comprises, as Mark Twain has so beautifully said, "the loveliest fleet of islands that lie at anchor in any ocean." Or, as we sometimes put it, "We have in Hawaii the climate they advertise in Southern California!"



A LAND OF WAVING PALM TREES

*Interracial Laboratory*

On the human side Hawaii is a fascinating interracial experiment station where, under the American flag, with white leadership and a Christian missionary background, on the foundation of a brown-skinned Polynesian basic population, there is being built up a community combining representatives of the leading races of the Pacific area — Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino and American, with a sprinkling of Porto Rican, Russian, German, Spanish, Portuguese and Norwegian by way of variety. If this sociological experiment in race relationships succeeds, it will throw rays of light to both sides of the Pacific Ocean. If it fails, it will seriously set back the hopes of those who are sanguine for human unity.

*Historical Background*

To know anything well, one must know it historically and, so, to understand the significance of Hawaii for Christian civilization you must know something of its past. My first purpose is, therefore, to sketch for you the romantic and picturesque historical and missionary background so different from the Hawaii of today and yet so necessary for an understanding of it.

*Captain Cook*

Although the Hawaiian Islands were probably visited by Juan Gaetano, a Spanish navigator, in 1555, they remained unknown to the world at large until discovered by Captain Cook, the great English explorer, in 1778. He found them thickly populated, 400,000 people, according to his estimate, though that was probably much too large a figure. Although by necessity still in the stone age, there being no metals in the Islands, the Hawaiians had achieved considerable civilization of a feudalistic type. There was a sharp line drawn between the chiefs and common people. The former were prosperous and so enormous physically that some thought

them to be of a different race. The common people lived a poverty-stricken hand-to-mouth existence. All that they had, including their labor, was subject to arbitrary levy by the chiefs.

### *Primitive Religion*

To a tyrannical social order was added an oppressive religion characterized by fierce gods requiring human sacrifices on certain occasions and propitiated also by a rigorous and highly inconvenient system of tabus. For example, women were forbidden certain foods, like bananas, pork, cocoanuts, turtles and several varieties of fish. Men and women could not eat together. There were times when it was tabu to launch a canoe, build a fire, utter a sound, beat tapa or pound poi. A commoner must not cross even the shadow of a chief.

### *Kahunaism*

The great gods were worshiped by human sacrifices at heiaus, as their temples were called. These heiaus were large open-air enclosures with massive walls of stone and great hideous wooden idols. But, in addition to this major worship, there was a wide-spread popular system of sorcery, incantation and mental healing carried on by kahunas or medicine men — a system which still exists subterraneously today. One cheerful custom of a certain class of kahunas was that of praying people to death! To do this it was first necessary for the kahuna to obtain hair, nail-pairings or spittle of the intended victim. Hence the important and honorable office of spittoon bearer in the entourage of each chief!

### *Family Life*

The family tie was a very light one, polygamy, polyandry and infanticide being painfully prevalent. Relationship under such conditions was naturally reckoned through the mother rather than the father, and a Hawaiian child called all his uncles and aunts father or mother indiscriminately. A



curious relic of this weakness in family tradition still survives in the Hawaiian custom of loaning and even giving away their children to their friends. This custom has its good side, for orphans are readily adopted and made one of the family. With this weakness of family life was coupled a sexual laxity symbolized and stimulated by indecent hulas, or dances, in honor of the obscene goddess Laka.

*Moral Disintegration*

There is good evidence that the forty years which elapsed between the discovery by Captain Cook in 1778 and the coming of the missionaries in 1820 were years of great moral disintegration. The old sanctions and restraints were overridden ruthlessly by sailors who counted no moral law existed in the Pacific and to this demoralization of the natives was added the curse of rum. The missionaries, when they arrived, found a nation of drunkards, going to pieces in unspeakable debauchery somewhat as the Marquesans are going today and as any primitive people is practically certain to go if it receives only the externals of civilization without its basis in Christian faith and ethics.

*Hawaiian Virtues*

But, with much that was degrading and barbarous, the ancient Hawaiians had also much more that was noble. They were great fishermen and sailors. In earlier years they had navigated by the stars even to Samoa and Tahiti over two thousand miles away. They had noble mele or epic songs, artistic tapa or cloth of pounded bark, beautiful mats and baskets and great calabashes, and canoes which testify to their craftsmanship. They had splendid sports, boxing, surf-riding, sliding down hill on sleds, races and discus throwing. Their helmets and feather cloaks were supremely beautiful. Their bodies were also beautiful, though perhaps too much given to corpulency. There are few more beautiful sights today than a bronzed half-naked Hawaiian fisherman poised upon the



*R. J. Baker Photo.*

AN HAWAIIAN FISHERMAN

As beautiful as a bronze statue, posed upon the coral reef ready to cast his net,

reef ready to cast his net. The Hawaiian, who is a Polynesian, related to the Maoris of New Zealand and the natives of Samoa, Tahiti and the Marquesas, is an animated bronze statue as beautiful in form and color as Giovanni da Bologna's Mercury. Nor was this beauty only skin deep. In spite of idolatry, kahunaism, and sensuality, the Hawaiian had a kindly soul. He was not a cannibal.\* As one of them said once concerning Captain Cook: "Yes, we killed him — but we didn't eat him!" Only the word "aloha," which means love and good will, can adequately express the affectionate and gracious quality of the Hawaiian race.

### *Effect of Foreigners*

Now the coming of the foreigner had a profound influence on this primitive race. First of all it brought new diseases — most terrible of all syphilis, then measles, small-pox and later leprosy. It also brought metal, weapons, ships and military knowledge. Kamehameha the Great, through the use of the white man's weapons and with two white sailors as his lieutenants, succeeded in conquering all the islands and bringing them for the first time under one government. A third inevitable, though at first unconscious, effect of the presence of white men was to break down the native religion. The most

\* Rev. W. D. Westervelt, whose book *Legends of Hawaii* is a recognized authority, says on this point: "There were instances of cannibalism, really quite a number in the legends, but these instances were denounced by the Hawaiians. As a nation the Hawaiians were never cannibals. I have never found a legend which even hints at nation-wide cannibalism. When a cannibal was discovered he was driven from his home and the people tried to kill him. This is the continuous record from the cannibal stories of Waipio Valley, Hawaii, Molokai, Kauai and Oahu. As far as I recall every cannibal was killed." The grandson of a brother of Hewahewa the high priest of Kamehameha personally told Mr. Westervelt about a human sacrifice on the altar on top of Punchbowl crater, just back of Honolulu where, according to native writers, human sacrifices had been offered for centuries. This man said to Mr. Westervelt: "It would be easy to sacrifice a drunken sailor — no one miss!" Mr. Westervelt suggests that a mistaken interpretation of such a statement may be responsible for Rufus Anderson's statement, "The cannibals of the Sandwich Islands would erewhile cook and carve a merchant or marine." They might have sacrificed him, but they would not have eaten him.



STATUE OF KAMEHAMEHA THE GREAT

Wearing the robe of golden feathers and the old Hawaiian feather helmet so like a Greek helmet in design.



vital element in this religion was the observance of the various tabus referred to above. When the native saw the white man violate these tabus with impunity his inherited house of faith came crashing down about his ears — he became for all practical purposes an atheist. The gods he had worshiped were revealed to him as either dead or powerless. Moreover the white man's liquor made the native, when drunk, violate the tabus himself — and nothing happened. The result was that, after the death of Kamehameha the Great, a group of strong-willed dowager queens, former wives of Kamehameha, who were virtually regents and guardians of Liholiho the young king, persuaded him in 1819 to violate the tabus and publicly abolish them. The next logical step was the destruction of the temples and burning of the idols, which accordingly was done under the leadership, curiously enough, of Hewahewa the high priest himself. A brief civil war followed in which the conservative party was beaten and the atheist, tabu-breaking party conquered. This destruction of ancient sanctions and restraints was a dangerous thing and would have been fatal had not the missionaries providentially been already on the way with a nobler religion and morality.

### *Missionaries Sail*

By a most remarkable coincidence this religious revolution had happened while a little brig, the *Thaddeus*, was in the midst of her five months' voyage from Boston to Hawaii, 1820, bringing the little pioneer company of fourteen missionaries, led by Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston, to begin Christian work in the Islands. They had expected to come to a people bowing down to horrible idols and offering human sacrifices and they were prepared to risk life itself, if need be, in a struggle against idolatry. "Probably none of you will live to witness the downfall of idolatry," said a friend to Samuel Ruggles, one of this pioneer band of missionaries on the morning before he sailed. Yet by a preparation which

seemed to them most providential, even while they were on the voyage the idols were overthrown, and when they reached Hawaii they found instead of fierce devotees of idolatry a nation temporarily without a religion.

### *Story of Opukahaia*

How the missionaries happened to come at all is a romantic story. There is still an ancient ruined heiau or temple on Kealakekua Bay where Captain Cook was worshiped as a god and within sight of the monument that marks the spot where he was killed. In 1809 a Hawaiian lad, Opukahaia, who lived there with his uncle, who was the priest, swam out to an American whaler, stowed away and was taken to New Haven by a Captain Brintnall. Here he attracted the attention of E. W. Dwight, Samuel Mills of Haystack fame, and other believers in the then novel and romantic idea of foreign missions. The story is that he was found sitting on the steps of Yale College crying because there was no one to teach his people. The result was that he and four other Hawaiian youths were enrolled among the first nineteen pupils in the Foreign School founded in 1817 at Cornwall, Connecticut. Opukahaia died in 1818 and is buried at Cornwall, but his work lived on in the band of fourteen missionaries who sailed for the Sandwich Islands on October 23, 1819.

### *Missionary Achievement*

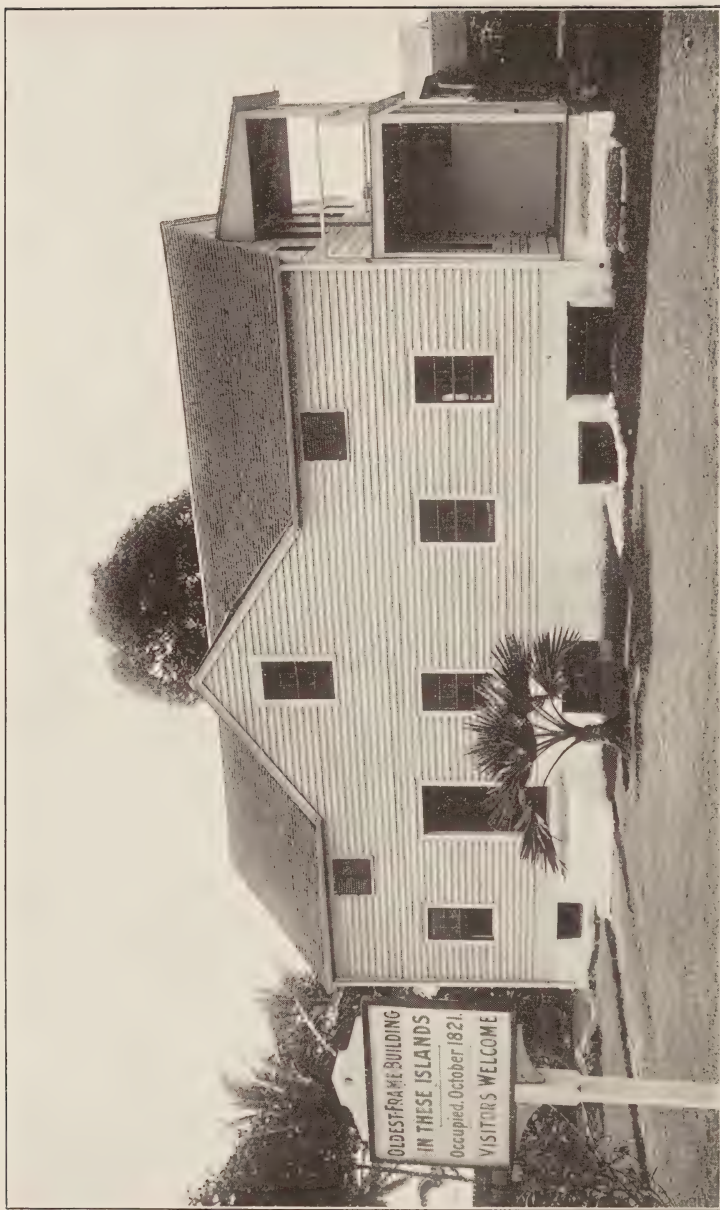
During the next forty years from 1820 to 1860 occurred one of the most remarkable transformations of a people under the educational influence of noble teachers and Christian ideals which the world has ever witnessed. The pioneer company of missionaries was reenforced by others until, by 1860, the American Board had sent out about one hundred and forty missionaries, (though probably not more than ninety were ever at work at one time) and had expended about \$1,000,000.

*Tribute to Pioneers*

We must pause and bear tribute to this noble company of men and women who left kindred and civilization to serve an unknown and supposedly barbarous people in one of the obscure corners of the earth. Their lives represent as near pure devotion to Christian ideals as one can find in all the history of the church. It is interesting to compare them with the Pilgrims on the *Mayflower* just two hundred years before them. While the *Mayflower* measured 180 tons the *Thaddeus* was only 240 tons — scarcely 40 per cent larger and the voyage was thirteen thousand miles instead of three thousand and over five months long instead of two. The hardships of those early days — no regular supplies of food, flour caked with sea water and filled with vermin, grass houses without floors or windows, pitiless publicity from the childlike people around them, hatred and persecution from the beach-combers and dissolute sailors whose orgies they prevented — all these were part of the price they paid. But the heaviest burden fell on the women. To come to a wild land and live and keep house under such conditions was heroic enough, but to bear children under such circumstances and nurture them, keep them from the contamination of heathenism round about and at last send them away for years of separation to be educated in America — this is more than heroism, it approaches martyrdom!

*Lucy Thurston's Story*

Several interesting autobiographies remain as original sources of information about the experiences of these early missionaries. Probably the most vivid and inspiring of these is *The Memoirs of Lucy G. Thurston* which has recently been reprinted with additional illustrations under the auspices of the Woman's Board of Missions of Central Union Church in Honolulu. It is a book which every woman who reads will prize as a revelation of the capacity of womanhood for heroic



OLD MISSION HOUSE, HONOLULU

endurance and high adventure. Memoirs of Laura Fish Judd and a slender little pamphlet of letters by Sibyl Bingham, the wife of Hiram Bingham, and many other letters, some never printed, also remain to tell this story of heroic womanhood.

### *Results*

What good did it all do? What was accomplished by these hundred and forty men and women and the million dollars given freely without hope of return by America to Hawaii? Let me catalogue for you in most summary fashion the achievements of this mission.

### *Written Language*

Of course the missionaries at once started to learn the language and to reduce it to writing. But the very first teaching of all had to be done in English and within three months the king was reading the New Testament in English. Over one hundred years ago, on January 7, 1822, the first printed page was taken off the press in Honolulu by Keeau-moku. It was a page of Webster's spelling book. Soon an Hawaiian primer was printed, then the Sermon on the Mount and Luke's Gospel, later the entire New Testament, all in Hawaiian. The chiefs learned to read first but soon the privilege was extended to the common people. The result was a veritable epidemic of learning to read! A whole nation went to school outdoors under the trees; those who learned a little taught that little to others. In 1835 the governor of Maui announced that none could hold office or be married unless they could read — which was certainly a practical way of stimulating literacy! But reading and writing really needed little stimulation. They constituted a new game which everyone wanted to play. As Dr. Hyde quaintly puts it: "The utter vacuity of the heathen mind made the people ready to while away their time in school."



*Education*

But reading and writing are only the beginning of an educational system and, after the first burst of learning to read on the part of adults was over, the missionaries began to organize definite schools for children. The first company of missionaries contained two preachers and their wives, two schoolmasters and their wives, a physician, a farmer and a printer and their wives. Both the preachers' wives had married on short notice right out of the schoolroom to come as missionaries. Obviously the method of attack was to be educational and the education was to be industrial as well as mental and religious.

*Broad Commission*

Although warned to abstain from politics, their commission was a broad one as shown by these noble parting words spoken by Dr. Worcester, the venerable secretary of the American Board: "Your views are not to be limited to a low narrow scale; but you are to open your hearts wide and set your mark high. You are to aim at nothing short of covering these islands with fruitful fields, and pleasant dwellings and schools and churches, and of raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization. You are to obtain an adequate knowledge of the language of the people; to make them acquainted with letters; to introduce and get into extended operation and influence among them the arts and institutions and usages of civilized life."

*Manual Training*

It was a tremendous commission and it was broadly and nobly carried out. By 1835 there were 900 schools and 50,000 pupils. In 1831, eleven years after the arrival of the *Thaddeus*, Lahainalua Seminary was founded and became the model for other schools of secondary grade. It was characteristic of the resourcefulness of the missionaries that these earlier schools were manual training schools. This was a practical

necessity, not a mere educational theory. The pupils had no way to pay except by their own labor. Not only agriculture but carpentry, cooking, blacksmithing, sewing and printing were taught in these early schools. Even copper-plate engraving of very creditable quality was taught at Lahainalua Seminary.

*Results in America*

Just here it is worth while noting how these manual training schools influenced America. Everybody knows the importance of Booker T. Washington's work at Tuskegee, and almost everyone knows that the great negro educator was trained by General Armstrong at Hampton Institute. But how many people know where General Armstrong got the ideas of industrial education which he demonstrated so splendidly at Hampton? The answer is that General Armstrong was the son of a Hawaiian missionary. His father, Richard Armstrong, was from 1847 to 1854 Superintendent of Public Instruction in Hawaii. The mother of Tuskegee, therefore, is Hampton, but the grandmother is the Hilo Boarding School and the great grandmother, Lahainalua Seminary! It is written in the Bible "Cast thy bread upon the waters" and this story illustrates the remarkable reaction foreign missions may have on the country that sends them forth.

*Social Service*

In their ideas on industrial education the missionaries were ahead of their day — forced ahead by practical conditions. But their industrial influence was not confined to schools. Every mission station became inevitably a center of civilization, giving object lessons in family life and the domestic virtues, in mechanical arts and the laws of health. It was the missionary who bred animals and built roads and found himself compelled by force of circumstances to be mason, carpenter, physician, stock-breeder, surveyor, nurse and peacemaker.

*Appeal of 1836*

In 1836 the missionaries sent a remarkable appeal to Boston for reenforcements. They found that no foreign workman then in the Islands would teach a native anything and so they asked for teachers in all the arts of civilization. This remarkable document said among other things: "We wish to see the rights of the people better understood, better defined, better respected by those in power and better maintained by the people themselves. . . . The people need competent instruction in agriculture, manufactures, and the various methods of production . . . and competent instruction immediately in the science of government in order to promote industry, secure ample means of support and protect the just rights of all."

*Reenforcement of 1837*

But, due to a number of causes, no adequate help came in response to this appeal. This was partly because of the conservatism in the American Board, which feared too great a combination of sacred and secular, and also because of the hard times in the United States. The reenforcement of 1837 was, however, the largest group ever sent out and consisted of thirty-two people, of whom twenty were teachers besides a physician and a secular agent and four ministers and their wives. This strong reenforcement sent the mission vigorously ahead and was one of the contributing causes to the great revival of 1839.

*Missionary Statesmen*

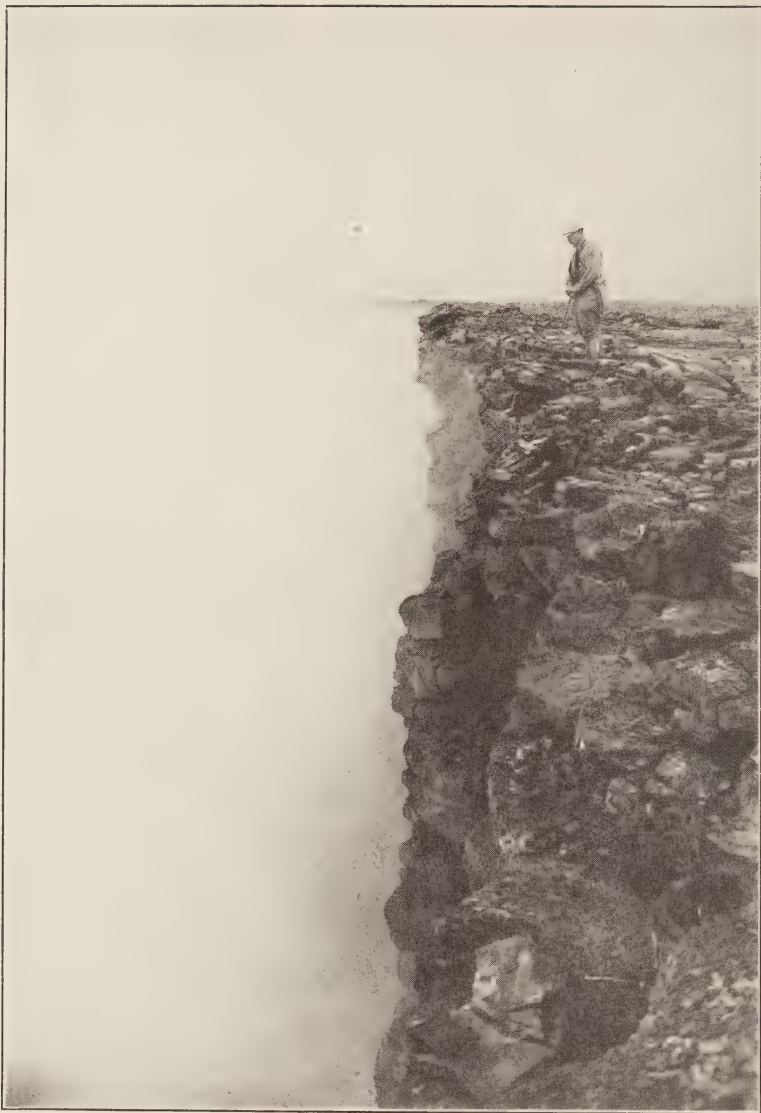
Though their appeal was not fully answered, nevertheless the missionaries found another way of helping the broader cause of Hawaiian civilization. If the American Board would not send them secular leaders they could resign from the Board and become such secular leaders themselves and this, accordingly, a number of them did. It was no disloyalty

to the missionary cause. It was the most effective way of serving it, in view of the short-sightedness of the Board. Mr. Richards therefore became in 1839 interpreter and adviser to the king, giving that very year a series of lectures to the king and chief on the science of government which is the foundation of all constitutional government in Hawaii. He became Minister of Public Instruction till his death in 1847, and was succeeded in that office by Richard Armstrong. Dr. G. P. Judd resigned to become for over ten years Minister of Foreign Affairs and Finance — the veritable mainstay of the government. Lorrin Andrews resigned to serve as associate justice of the first Supreme Court — beginning a judiciary whose traditions of uprightness and legal ability have been consistently sustained throughout Hawaiian history. Some of these resignations, that of Mr. Andrews at least, and others later, were also in protest against the slowness of the Board to break with its slave-holding constituency and come squarely to the abolition view-point.

### *Peaceful Revolution*

The contribution which the missionaries made to civil government is indicated by the fact that under their tutelage on June 7, 1839, the king, Kamehameha III, issued a Bill of Rights promising a constitution and individual ownership of land. This action meant the overturning of the feudal tyranny of the chiefs over the common people and the replacing of an absolute by a constitutional monarchy. Where else in history has so marked a revolution been secured by the influence of moral and religious teaching alone without an hour of rebellion or a show of force? Not at Runnymede, nor at Liberty Hall, nor at the French Revolution!

The simple constitution of 1840 was replaced later by the more adequate constitution of 1842 written by Dr. G. P. Judd, John Ii and Chief Justice Lee. Changed, amended and expanded this has been the basic law of the land and still



*R. J. Baker Photo.*

ON THE BRINK OF KILAUEA VOLCANO

Where Kapiolani threw stones into the lake of fire and defied Pele the volcano goddess.



exists, in part, in the present Organic Act of Congress by which Hawaii is governed today.

*What About Evangelization?*

But some one says: What about evangelization? These people were missionaries. Did they expend all their efforts on education and civil government? By no means. Their educational work was the foundation which had to be laid before evangelization was possible, and their influence on civil government was because of their previous success in both education and evangelization. The missionaries were very slow and cautious in the beginning about receiving converts and naturally these had to be made, under an absolute monarchy, from among the chiefs. It was a great turning-point when in 1825 Kaahumanu the great-hearted, wise and determined queen dowager, widow of Kamehameha the Great, became a Christian. There now ensued a period when Hawaii was most fortunately under the leadership of a remarkable group of women of high rank — Kaahumanu, Kapiolani, Kinau, — who by sincerely accepting Christianity, led their people into the light. The story of how Kapiolani journeyed to Kilauea Volcano, the supposed abode of the dread fire goddess Pele, and defied her, throwing stones into the crater and eating the ohelo berries sacred to the goddess, is one of the most thrilling and dramatic tales in missionary annals. It moved Tennyson to write his poem “Kapiolani,” a portion of which is as follows:

“When from the terrors of Nature a people have fashion’d  
and worship a Spirit of Evil,  
Blest be the Voice of the Teacher who calls to them  
‘Set yourselves free!’  
Noble the Saxon who hurl’d at his Idol a valorous weapon  
in olden England!  
Great and greater, and greatest of women, island heroine,  
Kapiolani

Climb the mountain, and flung the berries, and dared the  
Goddess, and freed the people

Of Hawaiee!

A people believing that Peele the Goddess would wallow in  
fiery riot and revel

On Kilauea,

Dance in a fountain of flame with her devils, or shake with  
her thunders and shatter her island,

Rolling her anger

Thro' blasted valley and flaring forest in blood-red cataracts  
down to the sea!

Long as the lava-light

Glares from the lava-lake

Dazing the starlight,

Long as the silvery vapour in daylight

Over the mountain

Floats, will the glory of Kapiolani be mingled with either on  
Hawaiee."

### *The Revival of 1839*

After years of education and seed-sowing, the day of reaping came!—notably in the great revival of 1839—almost twenty years after the arrival of the first missionaries, when 15,000 converts were added to the church. On one Sunday in July, 1838, Titus Coan at Hilo baptized 1705 persons—they were arranged in rows and the missionary passed along sprinkling the baptismal water upon them with a brush! From 1823 to 1863 over 53,000 converts were received. As early as 1852 over 30 per cent of the total population of the country were members of the church in good and regular standing!

### *Hawaii Christianized*

By 1860 the task of the missionaries seemed to many people to be completed. The Islands had been given schools and a constitutional government, the people were clothed, literate

and showed a larger percentage of church membership than some of the most religious sections of America. In forty brief years a great missionary task had been accomplished, a nation had been helped to Christian civilization and the Sandwich Islands were the prize exhibit in the show-windows of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

*Christianity for Export*

Not only this, but since 1852 the Hawaiian churches had themselves been carrying on with vigor and success a foreign mission of their own among the other islands of the Pacific. Their mission to the Marquesas began most dramatically in response to a personal visit in 1853 by Matunui a chief of Fatuhiva asking that Christian missionaries be sent to his islands. This mission is still in operation, though for many years past it has been in the hands of the French Protestants, France being in control of the Marquesan Islands. The mission to Micronesia well known in America through its famous missionary ship the *Morning Star* began in 1852 with the departure of two Hawaiian ministers and their wives in company with the pioneer band of American Board missionaries for the Gilbert, Marshall and Caroline Islands. Both native and white workers followed from time to time, including such distinguished missionaries as Luther H. Gulick and Hiram Bingham II who translated the Bible into Gilbertese and James Kekela whose noble act in saving a sailor from being eaten by cannibals in the Marquesas brought him the famous gift of a watch as a personal testimonial from President Lincoln. These mission fields, due to political changes, have largely passed now into the hands of the missionary boards of other nations. But during their fifty years of active support the Hawaiian churches sent out thirty missionaries and over \$112,000 for these missions in the South Seas.

*Criticisms of Missionaries*

As is inevitable in any vigorous constructive work like that of the American Board Mission to Hawaii, criticisms have not been lacking. Mr. Manley Hopkins, Hawaiian consul at London during the sixties, incorporated in his book on Hawaii in 1862 some criticisms intended to justify the sending of Anglican missionaries to Hawaii. These criticisms probably fairly represent the anti-missionary point of view of about 1860. What were they?

*Too Legalistic*

First and fundamentally, that the missionaries had been too legalistic, presenting a severe, judicial Old Testament righteousness rather than a more gracious winsome gospel. They had attempted to regulate conduct by law, through Sabbath legislation and prohibition of liquor. This criticism sounds familiar and doubtless has a real foundation. Our ancestors of a hundred years ago were Puritans and Calvinists and the stern moral code of New England was theirs. We, who have escaped perhaps too far in the other direction, would probably feel somewhat cramped if we were transported back into the legalistic atmosphere of their religion. And yet this is to be said by way of balance, that historically the law does precede the gospel, and they were dealing with a childlike people who needed "line upon line and precept upon precept." Their conception of the proper kind of Sabbath-keeping may have been irksome but their idea of saving the natives from alcoholism has been fully justified by modern medical science and the social experience of the years. They were far ahead of their day, and of their fellow religionists in America, in their ideas about prohibition. Where their Puritanism made most enemies was in their high standard of sex morality. It was indeed a "counsel of perfection" to the primitive Hawaiian with a totally different tradition behind him, but, after all, it was either this ideal or

else disease, degeneracy and extinction for the race. And the missionaries chose the ideal and nobly taught it and exemplified it. As Henry van Dyke said most beautifully in his Centennial Address at Kawaiahao Church in 1920: "They hung the lei of joy about the neck of virtue and kindled the flame of honor on the sacred altar of hospitality."

### *Clothes Detrimental?*

Some people have complained that the missionaries made the natives wear clothes and thus reduced the picturesqueness and increased the death rate! There are several angles to this. Undoubtedly the missionaries did invent the holoku\* and promote the wearing of clothes. But clothes were inevitable from imitation of the white man, even had there been no missionaries about. It was the chiefs who demanded clothes of the missionaries and one of the early arduous tasks of the missionary women, clearly recorded in the memoirs of Mrs. Thurston and Mrs. Bingham, was making dresses for queens and ruffled shirts for kings! What the missionaries did was to set the fashions. They carefully made the first dresses for the queen, as Mrs. Thurston quaintly records, in the style of 1819 — the year they left Boston. They were up to the minute on style! They little knew they were setting the fashion for over a century and that Hawaiian women in 1920 would still be wearing with incredible grandeur and dignity the holokus cut after the fashion of 1820! One may pause here and ask if modern missionaries to primitive peoples are as well informed as to the latest styles — and also as to whether the styles of today are as worthy of perpetuation for a hundred years!

\* The holoku is a simple gown which is the typical dress of Hawaiian women today. It hangs from the shoulders, has a yoke but no belt and flows in ample folds to the feet. It often has a train and is made in many different materials and colors.





*R. J. Baker Photo.*

**HILO HAWAIIAN CHOIR**

Note the women in long "holokus." Evangeline Booth stands in the center decorated with leis. Rev. Stephen Desha, pastor of the church, at the right.

### *Hawaiian Sports*

One superficial criticism of the missionaries has been that they destroyed the noble sports and pastimes of the ancient Hawaiians — only two of which, surf-riding and hula dancing, seem to have survived to the present day.

Those who make this criticism are earnestly recommended to read the careful and authoritative article by Dr. N. B. Emerson to be found in *The Friend* of August, 1892. Dr. Emerson, who was a Hawaiian scholar of the first rank, brings out the interesting fact that the old Hawaiian sports were largely associated with a remarkable national festival, the *Makahiki* which was observed with great ceremony during the four months from October to January. This period was "devoted to the pursuit of pleasure; festivity and games." Among these games, in addition to surf-riding and hula dancing, were a kind of bowling or discus throwing, foot racing, the glancing of heavy darts (*pahee*) along a special roadway and, most thrilling of all, a game of sliding down hill, not over snow, of course, but down a specially prepared course called *papa holua* made of stone with stone curbing but covered with fresh leaves to make it slippery for the long slender sleds. Remains of these *holua* courses are still extant in Kona and elsewhere.

### *Why They Disappeared*

It is interesting to note the reasons Dr. Emerson gives for the decadence or extinction of Hawaiian sports. One is the absorption in warfare which characterized the latter part of the Eighteenth Century and obscured the occupations of peace. With the acquirement of muskets and other European weapons war became an even more fascinating and still more deadly sport or rather a destructive madness which everywhere and always tends to kill both sport and sportsmanship. A second and deep-lying reason is to be found in the fact that sports, by their very association with the Maka-

hiki festival, were intimately allied with the religious and tabu system just as the somewhat similar Greek Olympian games were allied with Greek religion. When the idols were destroyed and the tabus abolished, the system of sports so intimately associated with them inevitably received a staggering blow. Dr. Emerson points out that it is very significant that the date chosen by Liholiho and Kaahumanu for the formal breaking of the tabus was the very day for the opening of the *Makahiki* festival season in 1819. The *Makahiki* was never celebrated again! "It was the unhappy fortune of Hawaii's ancient games to be too intimately allied by ties of blood relationship with those twin monsters, the tabu and idol worship, and when they were destroyed it fared hard with that nobler institution which had many worthy features that one would gladly have seen perpetuated and rehabilitated in decent shape if it had been possible."

### *The New Sports*

Not only were the gods who had presided over the ancient sports now defunct but at the same time new interests came crowding in to the Hawaiian mind — interests brought by the white man, some of them good, some bad.

One of the most absorbing of these was the acquirement of the white man's civilization — reading and writing are a most fascinating game if you stumble on them in the midst of adult life instead of having been so intimately associated with them from childhood that you fail to realize how much they add to the interest of life. The introduction of horses produced a form of motion which made the foot-racing and sliding down hill seem tame and childish. It is worthy of note that this island people took to horseback riding as to the manner born. No better cowboys can be found than the Hawaiians. But, alas, the white man brought other games less beneficial although tragically absorbing to the Hawaiian — cards, dice and whiskey. Kamehameha I and others after

him, notably Kamehameha III, struggled valiantly against the introduction of liquor-drinking among their people, but, in a day when modern temperance sentiment was almost unknown and when a foreign government forced the admission of its brandy by military power, they could hardly be expected to succeed.

*Missionaries Not to Blame*

It was not the missionaries, then, who destroyed the sports of the Hawaiians. They probably were far from having our modern sympathy with athletics and yet unconsciously they introduced what were, in effect, new games, to a people who had lost their old ones. These new games were going to school, organized government, horseback riding, printing, house-building, farming and wearing clothes. Others, not missionaries, supplemented these games with whiskey, dice and cards.

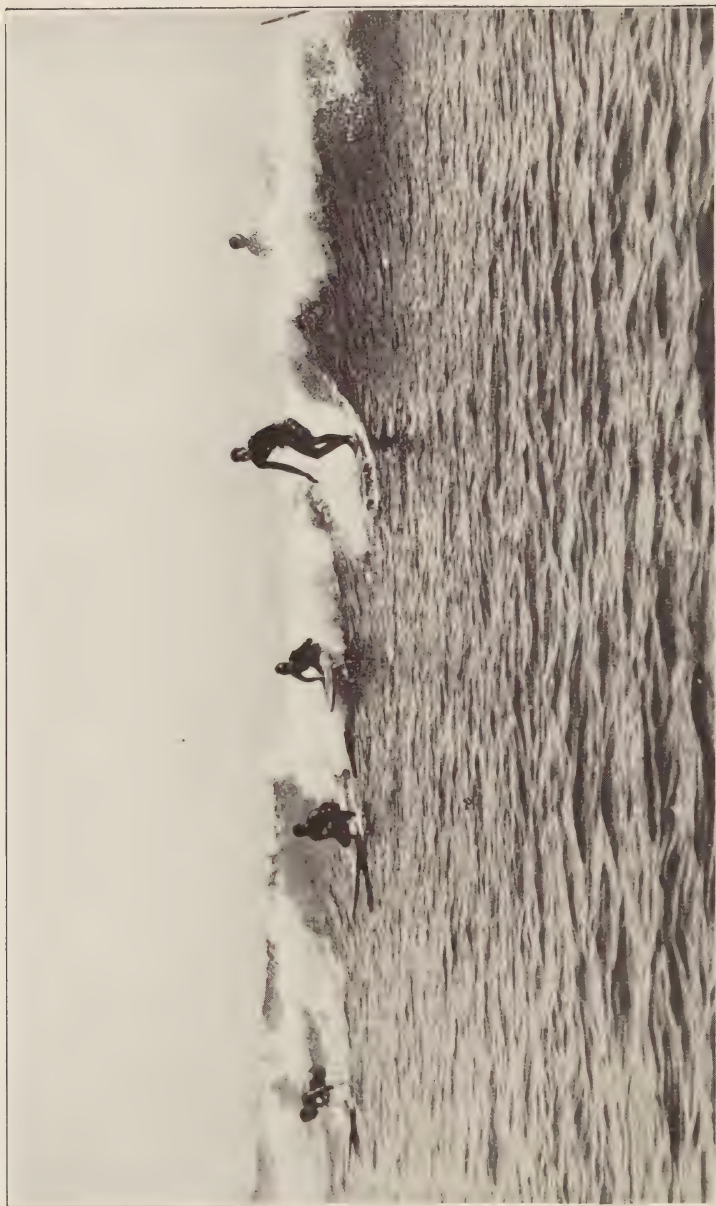
*Liturgy Too Cold*

The second criticism of the missionaries, beyond their theological and ethical Puritanism, had to do with their liturgical Puritanism. Their worship was too cold and barren and ill-adapted to the warm, emotional, colorful native temperament. This criticism is made very effectively by R. H. Dana, author of *Two Years Before the Mast*, who deserves to be listened to because he also wrote most appreciatively of the missionaries and their achievements. But he was an Episcopalian and saw things from an interesting point of view. He said:

*R. H. Dana's Judgment*

“The minds of the natives of this zone of the globe peculiarly require something to retain their attention and interest. The missionaries have recognized this law *in their schools*, and find it expedient to fix the attention of the scholars in recitation by classes, by responsive and general reading and answers, by the use of figures on blackboards, and by maps and





*R. J. Baker Photo.*

#### THE ROYAL SPORT OF HAWAII

Surf-riding at Waikiki. The rider gets his board in motion in front of an on-coming wave on the moving front of which he then roasts for several hundred feet.



pictures. The only system of worship and discipline which the missionaries have introduced has been that which is known at home as the Puritan or Independent, and in this they have had the field to themselves. The houses of worship are plain, naked buildings, with pews and benches and a large desk, in which the preacher, sometimes dressed in the tweed sack-coat of the shop and market (or, as I once saw, with the spurs on his boots), stands to read, preach, and pray. The congregation sit through the whole service, not only never kneeling or standing in prayer, but not even bending the head forward in token of reverence. The music is solely the singing of one or two rhyming hymns, performed by a small choir. The congregation have no part in the service — they are simply listeners from beginning to end; young or old, learned or unlearned, they are expected to be attentive listeners for some two hours, without a word to say, a thing to do, a sound to utter for themselves. My observation, after attending several places of worship in the principal islands, is that the natives, except there be some stirring passage in the sermon, are languid and easily-distracted listeners and irreverent actors. In their family worship they kneel, and are more reverent, being left more to their instincts. At public worship they come in at all times, sit, look about, easily fall asleep, and when the last prayer ends, start for the door a good deal as a theatre breaks up — hardly ever waiting for the benediction.\*

### *Catholic Contrast*

“It is not difficult to see how the Roman Catholic Church, with its open doors, free sittings, daily mass and vespers, its corps of teaching and visiting nuns, its sacramental system,

\* *Note:* “Mr. Dana arrived at the Islands late in the active missionary period. For a long time at first the mission services were new and interesting to the Hawaiians. In my younger days I have regularly attended missionary church services and it seems to me that there was generally good attention by the congregations. They generally joined heartily in the singing.”

Sanford B. Dole.

its worship addressed to the mind and heart through the eye and ear, as well as by the word to the understanding; with its service, which gives a part to all, and especially its system of commemorations, and, in the modern sense, its 'spiritualism' of angels and departed saints, has strongly enlisted the almost vacant native faculties.

"The subject has attracted attention in the Islands. I found that many who agreed with me in a high estimate of the good the missionaries have done, yet felt the defects of the public worship; and one of the missionaries told me he had long thought that changes must be made in their system in the direction of the ritual and liturgy of the English Church."

#### *Criticism Worth Pondering*

We who today frankly and gladly recognize that our Puritan ancestors went too far in their rejection of the beautiful in worship and who are striving to recover the dignity and beauty of a richer liturgical service without losing the freedom and spontaneity of free worship, may well ponder these words of Dana carefully. Face to face with heathenism, the Christian missionary should not present Christianity as a religion of barren ugliness, of repellent architecture and undignified observances. We still need a nobler, more worshipful church architecture, a liturgy with more congregational participation and perhaps it is well to be reminded that William Bradford wore a gown in preaching to the little Pilgrim colony at Plymouth and that processions of vested choirs and the use of printed as well as impromptu prayers may promote the impressiveness of Christian worship today.

#### *The Other Side*

But again, in all fairness to the missionaries, it should be noted that the religion of our Hawaiian churches has never been by any means the cold, joyless, austere thing one might

imagine. Anyone who has ever visited a hoike\* will recognize that joy, music, recitation in concert and even drama and humor eventually did enter into this grim Puritan religion of the missionaries. It is to the credit of the missionary that he taught the Hawaiians to sing. This was not at first a promising task. Lyman says in *Hawaiian Yesterdays* that, as late as 1841, "sometimes there would be audible attempts at singing a hymn but such efforts usually illustrated piety rather than melody!" Compare that with the wonderful chorus work of our Hawaiian choirs of today!

It may also be said by way of mitigation of the charge that the religion of the missionaries was too severe and cold, that no great defection toward either the Catholics or Episcopalians occurred upon their establishing work in the islands. Defection to them did come later but it was on political, not liturgical or theological grounds.

### *Missionaries Too Secular?*

The third criticism launched against the missionaries was that they left their religious functions and controlled the government. This needs no further refutation than has already been given in what has been said about the splendid service rendered by men like Dr. Judd, Richards, Armstrong and Andrews in entering government employ. It was absolutely necessary to protect the natives from exploitation by the unscrupulous, or conquest by the greedy. Here again some qualification should be made. From the earliest days some of the most useful white men in government service — men like Robert Wyllie and Chief Justice Lee — were not missionaries. Moreover from 1854 to 1872 no missionary was

\* The hoike is a characteristic feature of Hawaiian church life in which the Sunday schools gather in a sort of convention, often lasting all day, in which by recitation, song or simple pageantry they review the lessons of the quarter. A feast, or luau, crowns the occasion and makes it a great social event. It should be noted that the Sunday school contains the whole family in most cases, not just the children.



*R. J. Baker Photo.*

KAWAIAHAO CHURCH, HONOLULU

Erected about 1840, only 20 years after the missionaries arrived. Built of coral — a symbol of native materials molded into form by New England Christianity.

in the cabinet and only for comparatively brief periods are missionary descendants found in the cabinets of Kalakaua who reigned from 1874 to 1891, whereas during this period great influence was held by such definitely anti-missionary leaders as Walter M. Gibson, Bush, Moreno and Claus Spreckels.

*Did Missionaries Exploit Natives?*

The most serious charge against the missionaries, hinted at by Manley Hopkins, and growing in volume with the prosperity of the islands and the consequent prosperity of the missionary descendants, is that, as Satan said of Job, they did not serve God for naught — that they and their descendants became immensely wealthy at the cost of exploiting the natives and cheating them out of their lands. This accusation is not often put in print but it is a whispered gossipy insinuation which deserves to be brought out into the open and dealt with squarely. The answer is this: with possibly one exception, none of the original missionaries ever became rich. Up to 1876 Hawaii was a land of relative poverty and all were poor together. The missionaries did, however, get legislation from the king giving to the Hawaiian people, for the first time in their history, the definite private ownership of their lands. On the basis of this legislation the missionaries, because they had the technical skill, largely made the surveys and helped the natives secure their homesteads.

*Legitimate Business Enterprise*

After 1876 the reciprocity treaty with the United States made sugar production profitable, although at first, and indeed even now, the sugar business had a large element of risk and adventure in it. In the development of this sugar industry some of the descendants of missionaries took a proper and legitimate part along with other distinctly non-missionary business men like James Campbell, Claus Spreckels, Theophilus Davies and others.



*Hawaiian Business Standards*

Out of this industrial enterprise some of them gained wealth — not all. The wealth thus secured was the legitimate reward, under the capitalistic and competitive system which obtained, for their enterprise, industry, foresight and inventiveness. They tunneled mountains, built irrigation ditches to bring water from the wet to the dry side of the island, developed sugar machinery, risked money, lost money and made money. The prosperity they brought to the country raised the economic level generally and made it possible for many natives to rent their lands and live on the income. The improvident sold them but, so far as I can trace, under no pressure or undue influence. But it should be remembered that a very large part of the land brought into cultivation by irrigation had been absolutely useless and valueless before. There was no reason why these men should not indulge in business enterprises just because their fathers or grandfathers had been missionaries. Neither the ministry nor the missionary service is hereditary. We have no caste system. In 1894 *The Friend* gave the names of eighteen men and ten women, descendants of the missionaries, whose vocation was religious work — a very commendable proportion. Those who went into industrial activities, *judged by the standards of their day*, were upright business men. There is practically no watered stock in Hawaii and its business ethics has averaged higher than on the mainland.

*About Waialua Plantation*

A story related by Mr. W. R. Castle has point just here. He says: "Mr. Goodale, manager of Waialua Plantation, was on the train to Honolulu with his rent and other books to report to the treasurer. There was a fine appearing gentleman on the train, looking out of the car window, quietly but earnestly, who suddenly exclaimed, turning to Mr. Goodale, 'These are wonderful lands! What an awful shame that the

missionaries stole all of their lands! The Hawaiians might be independently well off if they only had their rightful property!' Mr. Goodale said, 'There must be some mistake about what you say. Fortunately I am just going up to Honolulu to talk over rent matters. I have my books here and there is no reason why you should not look at them.' So he opened his books and the sympathetic gentleman eagerly sat down beside Mr. Goodale and looked on with surprise as he turned page after page filled with Hawaiian names of land owners with the record of their lands and the amounts to be paid each year to them, a total each year of over \$30,000! He impatiently and suspiciously exclaimed, 'There must be some mistake, for my informant is an old and reliable white resident who has been here many years and knows whereof he speaks!' 'May I ask,' said Mr. Goodale, 'who your informant is? for I may be able to convince him of his error, at least, so far as Waialua is concerned!' But the gentleman refused to name him, saying that he had particularly requested *not* to be named! Mr. Goodale then told the man that what he said about Waialua was generally true with regard to the plantations throughout the country. But, as Mr. Goodale told me, the gentleman (?) looked unhappy and seemed inclined to stick to the facts as related by that 'old and reliable white resident.' "

### *Plantation Labor*

Of course, from the standpoint of our modern social conscience the labor policy of the plantations in days gone by, like the labor policy of New England factories, is subject to criticism.\*

\* "In reference to 'the labor policy of the plantations in days gone by,' as being subject to criticism, it rather seems to me that the abuse of the then existing laws of the land might be considered the subject of criticism. The labor laws were the fruits of the work of the king and his counsellors away back in the '30's before 'plantations' existed as they are today, and whether good or evil, those who employed labor were bound by such laws. The laws were made for the laborer and if he chose to make a vicious use of the law, he

But, as Mr. W. R. Castle points out in the note below, it is only fair to suggest that this criticism should be directed not so much at the policy of the plantation as at the laws of the government, for the plantations, of course, had to operate under these laws. Labor in primitive times had been forced labor at the command of the king and the chiefs. The adoption of labor laws modeled after shipping laws of the day (the only labor laws with which they had any experience) was both natural and a definite step forward. The second note printed below gives the judgment on this legislation of Paul Scharrenburg who visited the islands in 1922 as special representative of Samuel Gompers,\* and gives an interesting reaction upon it from the labor point of view.

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could accomplish much evil. It is a fact that such use was made; such as 'shipping' on a labor contract, to get the large advance wage, and then shipping away or deliberately violating the agreement by pretending to work while in fact doing almost nothing. The result of these conditions produced a thorough aversion to the law on the part of most employers. The laws of 1842, found in Thurston's *Fundamental Laws of Hawaii*, are well worth study and are most interesting reading. They set forth clearly the growth of Hawaii from a despotism to a government of laws. It is no doubt a fact that the whole system of labor contracts in writing signed by the parties is the outgrowth of the 'shipping' laws and customs which controlled the relations of the owners and masters of ships with the ships' 'hands.'"

W. R. Castle.

\* "As early as 1846, the minister of the interior of the kingdom of Hawaii was authorized to seize vagrants and to apprentice them out for a term of not more than one year. Two-thirds of the wages were to be paid to the vagrant and one-third was to go to the government. The master was permitted to use 'coercive force' if the vagrant refused to work.

"In 1850 it was made unlawful for a native of the islands to emigrate to California. At the same time the legislative assembly legalized two forms of labor contracts theretofore unknown in the islands, namely, (a) Apprenticeship, for boys and girls under 20; and (b) Indentured service, for any person over 20 years of age.

"These contracts were harsh, unjust and entirely one-sided. They provided for 'capture on desertion' and 'imprisonment and hard labor until he will consent to serve according to contract.' Strange to relate, the historians agree that these penal contract laws were 'an adaptation of the American shipping law.'

"In fact, when, in 1873, in the case of John H. Wood *vs.* Afo, the validity of this iniquitous contract labor system was attacked in the courts and carried for a final ruling to the Hawaiian supreme court, that august body said:

With annexation to the United States the general American laws with regard to immigration and contract labor became of course operative in Hawaii also while the awakening of the plantations in recent years to welfare work of a modern type and the wonderfully generous support given to all forms of social and religious work by the descendants of the missionaries, have placed Hawaii well to the front in the list of American communities with a wholesome social conscience. It is a very definite bit of evidence that on the present Rehabilitation Commission we have the Hawaiian pastor of Kawaiaho, the oldest missionary church in the islands, and as executive secretary a descendant of Amos Starr Cooke, the missionary teacher of the early days.

### *Missionary Descendants*

While some few descendants of the missionaries have departed from the ideals of their fathers and have been recreant to their responsibilities, on the whole these descendants are today a group of remarkably conscientious, public-spirited, religiously and morally responsive people. Most of them

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“ ‘ This statute was enacted, of course, in reference to the business of the country. The productions of the country must be gathered and secured, or manufactured when secured, and if neglected, they deteriorate and are essentially damaged, and the law in question is designed to prevent persons from wilfully violating their contracts and doing damage to their employers. It is, in degree, as essential to the sugar planter that his employes should remain with him to perform the service as agreed upon during the crop, as it is for the seaman to remain on the ship during the voyage. A sugar plantation encounters as many adverse winds as a vessel, and it is quite as likely to be endangered in crop time as a vessel is on a lee shore, when all hands are required. In many countries where labor is plenty and heavy advances are not necessary to procure laborers, this law is not necessary. But the legislature in their wisdom passed the law as applicable to the condition of affairs here.’ ”

“ ‘ Subsequent court decisions upheld this singular logic, and as late as 1892, the legislature reenforced the penalties for ‘ desertion from service.’ Vested property rights came first — human freedom trailed behind.

“ ‘ Under these harsh laws, in force from 1850 to 1897, plantation labor became more and more restive, although the world was scoured for immigrants to replace those who had completed their ‘ term of service ’ and moved to countries where conditions of service were less onerous.”



INTERIOR ST. PETER'S CHINESE CHURCH, HONOLULU  
Funeral service of Apau Kau, a Hawaiian-Chinese boy killed in France.

*City Photo Co.*



sincerely believe and exemplify in their lives the motto of Hawaii, spoken by the good king, Kamehameha III, in an hour of national deliverance; “ Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono! ” “ The life of the land is preserved by righteousness! ”

## CHAPTER II

### HAWAII'S MIDDLE PERIOD OF REACTION, TURMOIL AND COMPLICATION

#### *A Neglected Period*

Periods of reaction are not as thrilling or superficially as edifying as periods of romantic achievement, yet they may have very important lessons to teach and they often hold the key to a better understanding of the subsequent movements of history. Having glanced at a picture of the romantic and constructive era in Hawaiian history which culminated about 1860, we must now go on to the very much less heroic period of reaction and increasing complication which followed it. Many of the books which are available about Hawaii treat the early romantic period very fully but no adequate study of the almost equally important reactionary period has yet appeared. Most public addresses ignore it altogether or slur over it very superficially. One would be led to think that nothing important happened between the early missionary triumphs and the annexation to the United States. This may be because the events are too recent to be dealt with frankly, or because no scholar like Prof. W. D. Alexander has yet arisen to organize and analyze the events of this difficult troubled time as the events of the earlier days have been analyzed and organized.

#### *Decadence Sets In*

Be that as it may, it will be increasingly clear to any careful student of Hawaii that, beginning about 1865, a very interesting and instructive period of reaction and decadence set in, at the end of which, about 1900, we find, instead of a

homogeneous united people with a normal Christian civilization and over a third of the population members of churches, a nation which has been repaganized by an inundation of non-Christian peoples, and by the influence of un-Christian whites as well, while the Hawaiians themselves have partially reverted to heathenism, and distrust and race prejudice have replaced much former kindness and good will.

### *Population Decrease*

What were the divisive and destructive agencies that caused this period of reaction? There were many such agencies and they were often curiously intertwined. One basic source of trouble was a seriously decreasing population. Contact with civilization, especially its diseases and vices when combined with their own vices and weaknesses, proved too much for the Hawaiian people. Captain Cook in 1778 estimated the population of the islands at 400,000 but this was probably too high. When the missionaries arrived the ebb-tide of population was already on. In 1823 they estimated the population at 142,000. The census of 1832 showed only 130,000, that of 1836, 108,000, and by 1866, thirty years later, it was reduced to 58,000 — only a little more than half of what it had been thirty years before. The low-water mark in population was reached in 1872 when there were only 56,800 people in the Islands of whom 47,500 were Hawaiians. (Note, by way of contrast, that today, by the census of 1920, there are over 250,000 people in Hawaii of whom only 23,000 are pure Hawaiian and 18,000 more part-Hawaiian. Of the remaining 210,000 the great bulk are Orientals.) Now this constantly declining population must have had a most disheartening and depressing effect on all forms of human enterprise, and it had the very practical result of so decreasing the number of the tax-payers that the government — meager and poverty-stricken little government that it was — began to find itself menacingly in debt.

*Not Due to Missionaries*

It is probably necessary to emphasize the fact that the coming of the missionaries was in no wise responsible for this decline in population. It took place even more rapidly in islands to which no missionaries came, and it was already well under way in Hawaii before the missionaries arrived. If missionary advocacy of clothes had some small adverse effect on health, — the clothes being worn wet or dry, clean or dirty when once acquired — this is more than offset by the effectiveness of missionary influence in decreasing drunkenness, and rendering medical assistance. The real causes of this decreasing population are a complex of the white man's weapons which made war more deadly, the white man's rum, the white man's diseases and the white man's influence in destroying tabus, some of which were unconsciously based on sound sanitary experience.

*Industrial Depression*

Along with this population decline went an economic depression. The story of Hawaii's industry, as Professor MacCaughey has pointed out, has been the story of a tree, an animal and a plant. The tree was sandalwood — the great article of export which was shipped to China in great quantities in the early days. So feverishly did the chiefs compel the people to cut sandalwood that by 1825 it was becoming extinct and it is now commercially unobtainable in the islands. Then came the period when prosperity depended on an animal — the whale which, it may be noted incidentally, is a mammal and not a fish. From 1820 onward great fleets of whaling ships, mostly American, brought prosperity to the Islands by their purchases of supplies. But the Civil War, and a later disaster in the Arctic Ocean, wrought havoc with the whaling fleet and the kerosene lamp made whale-oil almost a curiosity, so that by 1870 the whaling fleet had ceased to be an economic resource and the Islands were left without an

occupation or a market; for the plant, the sugar-cane, upon which Hawaii's third era of economic prosperity depends, did not become the dominant industrial factor until the reciprocity treaty of 1876 opened the American market to Hawaiian sugar free of duty.

*Rufus Anderson's Mistake*

On the missionary side the most unfortunate event of the sixties was the decision of the American Board to withdraw from active work in the Islands and to turn the churches over to their native members and native pastors with the expectation that, being now completely Christianized, they could manage their own affairs along the usual lines of Congregational church organization in America. This movement was not made without misgivings and vigorous protest by a majority of the missionaries. But Rufus Anderson, an aged and strong-willed secretary of the American Board, came out to Hawaii in 1863 and, after studying the field, decided the time had come to graduate the Hawaiian Mission into a self-governing, self-perpetuating group of churches. He was an able man, and he was pressed by the cramping conditions of the Civil War and the urgent needs of the greater populations in the vast non-Christian world beyond, but nevertheless the policy which he practically forced on the missionaries was premature and it resulted disastrously.

*Premature Independence*

Completely successful as the missionary work seemed to a superficial observer, it was in fact not yet thoroughly rooted. It needed many years of careful supervision and guidance. This was practically withdrawn in 1864. The great churches were subdivided into smaller ones under native pastors and, as the elderly missionaries dropped away, their places were filled by natives. Things might have gone better, even so, had the rulers remained staunchly Christian as in the early





*Lake Photo.*

#### EASTER SUNRISE SERVICE

On the crest of Punchbowl — an extinct volcanic cone just back of Honolulu formerly known as Punu-waina, the hill of sacrifice, Human sacrifices were offered in olden times on the spot where the cross is standing.

days. The remarkably swift conversion of the Hawaiian people had been partly due to the fact that they followed their rulers into the Christian church. But when, in the persons of Kamehameha V and Kalakaua, rulers arose who were not at heart truly Christian, but were themselves inclined to revert to heathenism, then it was easy for large numbers of the people to follow the royal example back to heathenism.

### *Reversion to Heathenism*

This reversion to heathenism was not a revival of the old temple worship of the heiaus or of the great gods, but rather a revival of the undergrowth of superstition which goes under the general name of kahunaism. The Hawaiian "kahuna" is a sort of medicine man. The "kahuna lapaau" weaves charms, foretells events, gives advice and cures disease and, most sinister of all the "kahuna ana ana" prays people to death. The kahuna's work is efficiently commercialized and he requires to be well fed and paid in order to work well. Now the heart of kahunaism in its grip upon the Hawaiian people was its program of mental healing — though it did not use any such abstract terminology.

### *Kahunaism and Medicine*

As the Rev. James Bicknell, a stalwart crusader against kahunaism, has brought out, the power of the kahuna lay in the fact that his religion was a religion of the body, that he set out to cure disease. So long as the Hawaiian was well, Christianity satisfied his moral and religious needs, but when he got sick the old heathen fears and heathen practices came trooping in. We can see now that one fatal shortcoming in the early missionary program was the lack of thorough-going medical instruction. There were doctors among the missionaries and they rendered heroic service, but there were not enough of them to reorganize the medical customs of a nation and train them in hygiene and scientific medicine. But the

idea of well-organized medical missions had not at that time appeared upon the horizon and the Hawaiian work suffered greatly for lack of it. If there is one definite contribution our Hawaiian experience has to make to the technique of foreign missions among primitive peoples, it is the fundamental importance of medical missions. Religion and medicine are intimately related in the primitive mind. James Bicknell has very keenly observed that Kamehameha IV gave the people a hospital and all would have been well had Kamehameha V given them a medical school to provide trained doctors. But, instead, that vigorous but, alas, reactionary king authorized the licensing of kahunas in 1865 and from that time the reversion to heathenism was on. Every missionary now had a village kahuna licensed by the government working over against him.

### *Kahunaism and Demonology*

One cannot but wonder if the failure to deal effectively with kahunaism was not also due, in part, to the theory of Biblical infallibility which the missionaries naturally held and taught to their converts. If you hold to the verbal inspiration and literal infallibility of the Bible you are pretty clearly forced to accept a large and complicated demonology. What the missionary's theory of the Bible compelled him theoretically to subscribe to, the kahuna demonstrated and used for personal profit by working on the superstitious fears of the credulous. Of course it should be clearly understood that the missionaries to Hawaii are not in any sense to be blamed for their failure to possess a modern conception of the Bible. They used the best scholarship and the truest doctrine of Scripture they knew. They were progressive, forward-looking, scholarly men, the kind of men who, if they were living today, would gladly accept and welcome modern viewpoints. They were not reactionaries or timid traditionalists in their day and would not be in ours. Here, then, is possibly

another contribution which Hawaii can make to the technique of missions, namely, that the modern missionary should be emancipated from the old narrow ideas of verbal inspiration, should recognize that the Word of God is progressive, growing and contemporary, and includes the best modern scientific truth. We no longer believe in demons even if the men who wrote portions of the Bible did believe in them. But, on the other hand, we believe that what the best medicine and best psychology have to say about insanity, nervous diseases, obsessions, habits, suggestion and hypnotism is an important part of the missionary's equipment.

This revival of heathenism, begun by Kamehameha V in licensing kahunas in 1865, was carried much further by Kalakaua who in 1886 credentialed what was euphoniously called an "Hawaiian Board of Health," but was really an official organization of the kahunas. Kalakaua also organized a secret order, a travesty on masonry called the "Hale Naua." This organization, according to W. D. Alexander, "appears to have been intended partly as an agency for the revival of heathenism, partly to pander to vice, and indirectly to serve as a political machine."

### *Princess Ruth and Pele*

How dangerous and widespread this revival of heathenism was can be illustrated by the dramatic scene enacted near Hilo in 1881 when a terrible lava flow was approaching the city. For three hundred days it had been pouring down the mountain side. Almost to the edge of the city it came. Then Princess Ruth arrived from Honolulu, a platform was built in the very path of the flow, the Hawaiian princess, who weighed about 300 pounds, mounted it, sacrifices of pigs, chickens and brandy are said to have been offered to Pele, the volcano goddess, and the princess on her knees appealed to Pele to spare Hilo. And then the flow stopped and the town was saved! People who like to test God by direct

answers to prayer, have much food for thought in an incident like that. But it went a long way toward neutralizing in people of childlike minds the brave deed of Kapiolani some fifty-seven years before when she threw stones into Kilauea and defied Pele to her face.

### *Another Version*

The story of Princess Ruth's stopping the lava flow at Hilo in 1881, just given, is the current popular version. As an interesting side-light on the difficulties of the historian in getting at the exact details of events even as recent as 1881, it may be added that a well-known citizen of Honolulu insists that the brandy was not really sacrificed but that Simon Kaai drank it up and filled the bottles with water! The most circumstantial and authoritative account of all is contained in the following extract of a letter to the author by Dr. Arthur C. Alexander:

"I have just had an interview with Oliver Stillman, an old schoolmate and friend of mine who was an assistant to Simon Kaai, business manager for Ruth Keelikolani. He related to me the incident of the so-called 'Stopping of the lava flow of 1881' about as follows:

'The old lady took a notion into her head that she would go up to the flow and try to stop it. At her request, I hired a hack from an old native named Hao and also purchased for her a bottle of brandy and all the red bandana handkerchiefs I could at Aiona's store. There were about 15 or 20 of us who went up. We tied the red handkerchiefs about our heads and necks. The old lady rode in the hack with Simon and myself. We drove up to the Halai Hills as far as we could and then walked over a short distance to the flow. She prayed in Hawaiian to Pele, asking her to save the land, etc. While she was praying, Simon asked me for a corkscrew and I pulled



the stopper out of the brandy bottle -- it made a loud "pop" which she evidently heard and as she was a woman of violent temper, I thought I was going to catch it, so I quickly took the corkscrew out of the cork and put the stopper back in the bottle -- and, we did not drink any of the brandy.

'She kept on praying and when she had finished, she took the bottle of brandy and poured it on the lava and took the red handkerchief off her head and threw it on the flow and gathered all the other handkerchiefs and threw them on also. There was no sacrifice of any white pigs or chickens as commonly reported.

'After this, we went to the Halai Hills where a camp of tents had been set up for us and where we had a pig that had been previously roasted in Hilo for us.'

"I have not quoted this in Mr. Stillman's exact words and have omitted some of the details of the story, but I have stated it practically as he told it to me and I think I can vouch for the truth of the story. Mr. Stillman added: 'By golly, the flow stopped at that point and did not flow a foot farther.'"

### *Kalakaua's Opinion*

It was about this time that Kalakaua, just returned from his trip around the world, is reported by Sereno E. Bishop to have said: "I have seen the Christian nations and observed that they are turning away from Jehovah. He represents a waning cause. Shall we Hawaiians take up the worship of a god whom foreigners are discarding? The old gods of Hawaii are good enough for us." Kalakaua's revival of heathenism, which was largely for political purposes, was by no means theological alone -- one of its most vicious manifestations, still here to humiliate and misrepresent Hawaii to the world, was his revival and patronage of the hula in its most obscene and repulsive forms. Practical heathenism means a vicious

trinity of superstition, debauchery and ignorance. It is to the credit of the Hawaiian churches that, weakened and torn with dissensions as they were, they did make a stand against Kalakaua's heathenism and debauchery.

### *Catholics Arrive*

This revival of heathenism was met less effectively than it ought to have been because of the unfortunate divisions in Christianity caused by the coming in of various denominations. The Roman Catholics had come first as early as 1827 but were unfavorably regarded by the natives who, having destroyed their own idols, were prejudiced against the Catholics' use of images, counting it a form of idolatry. It is to the credit of the missionaries that they remonstrated with the chiefs for persecuting the Catholics and finally, under Mr. Richards' influence, an edict of toleration was issued June 17, 1839. Less than a month later a French frigate arrived demanding a church site be given to French Catholic priests and \$20,000 be deposited as a guaranty that they would be well treated. Subsequent French warships demanded repeal of laws prohibiting importation of wines and liquors. Thus the Catholic mission started in 1840 with a show of force and under conditions making it unpopular with the chiefs. It has overcome this early handicap, however, and is today a useful and greatly respected element in our Hawaiian community life. It is interesting to note that this Catholic mission, begun under French protection, still remains largely foreign. The priests, usually very faithful and devoted men, are mostly Belgians or Germans from the University of Louvain, though the schools are carried on by American teaching brothers from Dayton, Ohio, and sisters from Syracuse, N. Y. By the census of 1896, 32 per cent of the Hawaiians reported themselves Catholics, 50 per cent Protestants and 17 per cent Mormons. The growth of the Catholics and Mormons was rapid in the Revolutionary period of the nineties when definite propa-

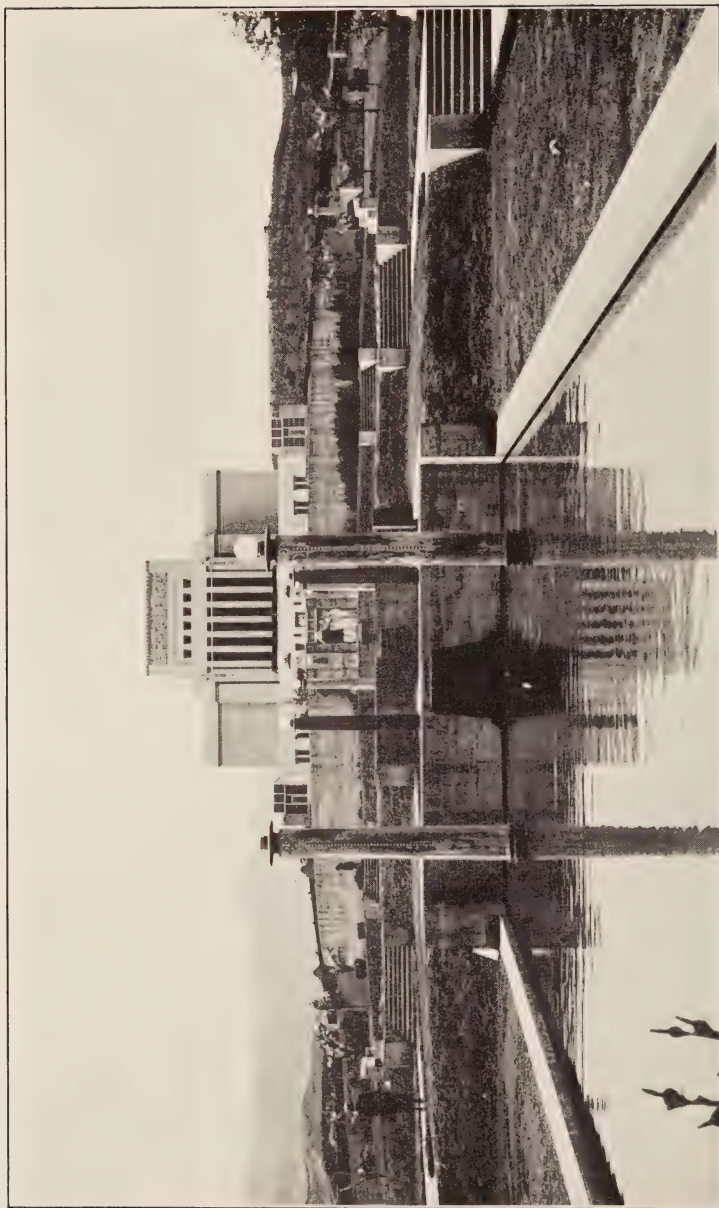
ganda was made by the royalists to win the Hawaiians away from the historic missionary churches. The Catholic population today is claimed by them to be 68,000 which includes practically all the Portuguese and Filipino colonies and 12,000 Hawaiians. No Hawaiian has ever been ordained a priest, so far as I know, and very few Orientals are Catholics.

### *Mormon Missionaries*

The Mormons, arriving in 1850, were the next missionary movement to reach the Islands. They worked with varying success until the political troubles of the revolution turned more and more Hawaiians toward them. The Mormons in Hawaii, though a mission from Salt Lake City, have never sought to establish polygamy here and have confined their efforts exclusively to the Hawaiians who they claim are sons of Lehi, being Lamanites like the American Indians. Considerable prosperity has come to them of late years through the possession of a profitable plantation at their colony at Laie where they have erected a beautiful temple costing over \$200,000. Their influence on the Hawaiian people under their sway seems to have been good, on the whole, tending to sobriety and industry. There are now estimated to be 11,000 Mormons. Their responsible leaders are all white men and their work is ruled by an iron-clad system and reenforced by a constant stream of young missionaries sent out from Utah on three-year terms who live among the Hawaiians native style, learn the language and carry on a persistent proselytizing campaign. There is much in Mormon missionary methods that is worth study by other bodies.

### *Why Mormonism?*

Here again, as in the case of kahunaism, a modernist in religion may well inquire whether the emphasis laid on Biblical infallibility may not have had something to do with the large defection of the native Hawaiians to Mormonism. For



*Williams Photo.*

THE MORMON TEMPLE AT LAIE NEAR HONOLULU

Mormonism is essentially a parasitic religion. It never pioneers into non-Christian regions and it only seeks to convert those who are already converted to some form of Christianity. With its great emphasis on miracles, the lost ten tribes, second coming of Christ and the literal fulfilment of prophecy, Mormonism has a great leverage with people brought up to believe in a literalistic type of Biblical interpretation. The only really adequate guard against Mormonism, as I see it, is a thoroughgoing understanding of the history and nature of the Bible as made plain by modern historical study. Higher criticism of an equally honest and thoroughgoing sort applied to the Book of Mormon would make short work of its childish hocus-pocus about gold plates written in "reformed Egyptian" characters and would reveal the fraudulent character of documents like its alleged "Book of Abraham." Given a theory of verbal infallibility, and the Mormons have the best of the argument, for they have all the Scripture anybody else has and the inspired book of Mormon besides — with all the paraphernalia of sealing and baptism for the dead. But, if one has some modern scientific understanding of how the Bible grew and what it really is, and of the nature and source of its authority, as not in the letter but in the unfolding Spirit of God made manifest also in science and in every department of truth, why then the Book of Mormon also comes up for a candid examination and appraisal which it simply cannot survive.

### *The Anglicans*

The next missionary arrivals were the Anglicans who came in 1863 on invitation of Kamehameha IV who had traveled in Europe and was much impressed with the Anglican forms and liturgy as better suited to a monarchy than the severe Puritan worship of the missionaries. This was doubtless quite sincere. The king, who was something of a mystic, made what is accounted by Hawaiian scholars to be a really beauti-



ful translation of the Book of Common Prayer into Hawaiian. His queen, the beloved and noble Queen Emma, was also under Anglican influence, having been brought up as a child in the home of Dr. Rooks, an English physician in Honolulu.

The coming of the Anglican mission was, however, a divisive influence in the missionary situation, partly through the untactful personality of the first bishop, the Rt. Rev. T. N. Staley, and also partly through the loss of prestige to the historic churches of the missionaries when the king was no longer of their communion. The great old Coral Church at Honolulu, hitherto proudly called the "King's Chapel," became known in the sixties simply as "The Stone Church," the name "Kawaiahao Church" which it now bears not coming into general use until more recent years. But, as with the Catholics and Mormons, the greatest tide of Hawaiian members did not set in toward the Anglican church until the Revolutionary sympathies of the missionary descendants made the royalists favor other denominations. It is a happy thing to record that relations between the historic missionary churches and the Episcopalians have become more friendly with the passing of the years and are now most cordial and cooperative.

### *Race Feeling*

In addition to the divisive agencies so far enumerated, there appears in the seventies a more sad and sinister thing and that is a tendency toward racial suspicion, bitterness and dislike on the part of the Hawaiians toward the whites. This arose, in part, as resentment against foolish, thoughtless but alas quite characteristic American spread-eagle talk about annexation. It should be distinctly noted that at this time such agitation was disapproved of by the missionaries. Isabella Bird Bishop in her *Letters from the Sandwich Islands* writes in 1875: "An antagonism to foreign residents, or rather to their political influence, has grown rapidly. Some of the Americans had been unwise in their language and the

discussion on the proposed cession of Pearl River increased the popular discontent and the jealousy of foreign interference in island affairs. 'America gave us the light,' said a native pastor in a sermon which was reported over the islands, 'but now we have the light, we should be left to use it for ourselves.' This sentence represented the bulk of the national feeling which, if particularly unenlightened, is intensely, passionately, almost fanatically, patriotic."

### *Segregation of Lepers*

This anti-foreign or, as we say in Hawaii, anti-haole feeling was aggravated by the necessary but painful policy of the segregation of lepers on Molokai, begun in 1866. Leprosy probably came from China — the Hawaiians call it *mai pake*, the Chinese sickness. While segregation was necessary and was ostensibly a sanitary matter, it bore especially on the Hawaiians, for they were the great sufferers from leprosy, while very few white people ever contracted it. Thus what was sanitary precaution seemed in its operation to be a racial persecution. Happily this feeling died away in time as the Molokai Settlement came to be more wisely and efficiently administered. Now in our own day, through the separation by President Dean of the University of Hawaii of what is known as Dean's Derivative of Chalmooogra Oil, results in the arrest and probable cure of leprosy are being obtained which are daily reducing this ancient scourge of humanity to scientific medical control. The population of the Leper Colony on Molokai is steadily decreasing and, instead of hiding victims of the disease, the Hawaiians now bring their children who develop leprosy to the Kalihi Receiving Station for treatment and cure. It is one of the great triumphs of modern medical science — and ought to be a mighty argument against kahunaism in the Hawaiian mind and against the more fanatical phases of mental healing and Christian Science in the American mind.



THE OLD ROYAL PALACE IN HONOLULU

Built by Kalakaua, now the capitol of the Territory. The throne room is used by the House of Representatives.

*Kalakaua's Character*

This anti-foreign feeling on the part of the natives was also sedulously fanned into a flame for political purposes by Kalakaua who reigned from 1874 to 1891. Here is one of the most interesting and at the same time most harmful personalities in all Hawaiian history. Personally affable and even charming on occasion, handsome and kingly in appearance, Kalakaua was nevertheless a licentious, selfish, intemperate, dishonest, politically meddlesome and utterly inefficient monarch. In 1881 he made a trip around the world, immortalized in one of the funniest books of travel ever written, *Around the World with a King*, by William Nevine Armstrong, and came back with a lot of foolish notions about royalty. He imported a useless battery of artillery from Austria and arranged a spectacular coronation of himself to impress the Hawaiians. In 1887 he acquired a warship and sent it to Samoa to make a treaty with those islands and thus begin a fantastic policy of "Hawaiian primacy in the Pacific." This ridiculous opera bouffe performance went to pieces through the drunken revels of the officers and crew and the whole thing ended as a farce.

*Policy of Debauchery*

All this might have been tolerated, as the vagaries of kings have been tolerated time and again, had not Kalakaua sought to reestablish the absolutism which Kamehameha III had voluntarily resigned for Constitutional government. Kalakaua was an elected monarch and not originally popular with the higher chiefs and conservative people. In order to promote his design to destroy all constitutional limitations Kalakaua therefore proceeded to debauch the Hawaiian people. From early missionary days, and also under Kamehameha the Great, before that, there had been prohibition against selling liquor to natives. This, under Kalakaua's influence, was repealed and the increase of liquor consumption may be measured by the increase in revenues from custom duties on

liquor; \$58,000 in 1875 when prohibition to natives was still in force and \$156,000 in 1880 after it had been removed. An eye-witness told me of visiting a Kalakaua political headquarters where strong liquor was served by the tumblerful out of a wash-tub and the yard was full of Hawaiians lying around dead drunk. Thrum's Annual says that the coronation in 1883 "was followed by a period of nightly hula festivals that were a retrograde step to heathenism and a disgrace to the age." The official program of these orgies contained words of hulas so indecent that the printer was actually arrested and fined \$25 for publishing obscene literature.

### *Revolution of 1887*

In 1886 occurred the notorious opium bribery case in which it was proved that Kalakaua promised a Chinaman an opium license for \$71,000, received the money and then sold the license to a Hawaiian favorite of his. Such impossible conduct by the king, especially in a country whose prosperity was going steadily forward under the development of the sugar industry and whose fundamental need was stable, enlightened government, gave rise to the revolution of 1887 by which Kalakaua was compelled to promise to abstain from trying to influence either electorate or legislature, and to take no action without the authorization of his cabinet, which at the same time was made responsible not to the king but to the legislature. The upper house, instead of being appointed by the king, as heretofore, was from now on to be elected by those having a moderate property qualification. Thus a conservative, genuinely constitutional government was assured. The king could reign but he could not rule.

### *Monarchy Overthrown*

Kalakaua put up with this restraint as well as he could but when his successor, Queen Liliuokalani, proceeded to license



lotteries and proclaimed her purpose to overthrow the Constitution, a revolution again broke out which in 1893 resulted in the end of the monarchy, the establishment of the Republic of Hawaii and finally, in 1898, in annexation to the United States. Queen Liliuokalani continued to live at her home, "Washington Place," and toward the end of her life became apparently reconciled to the situation and mellowed in spirit. With the outbreak of the World War she displayed the American flag, subscribed to the Red Cross and even appeared in public on the same platform with Judge Dole, former President of the Republic.

### *Revolutionary Leadership*

Now, while there were many Hawaiians who heartily disapproved of Kalakaua's character and Liliuokalani's action, the leadership in opposition to the monarchy was white and predominantly it was made up of descendants of the missionaries and their friends and sympathizers — on the whole the most honorable, upright, law-abiding element in the Islands. They combined to a remarkable degree a preponderance of the brains, the wealth, the character and the enterprise in Hawaii. There was no leadership on the side of royalty that could cope with them.

My candid judgment, from personal acquaintance with many of them and careful study of the history of those troublous times, is that Lyman Abbott was quite correct when he said that if they had submitted to Liliuokalani's plans "they would have proved themselves unworthy to be descendants of Cromwell and Hampden, of Washington and Hancock." So far as I can see they sought no selfish preference for themselves — they did seek the absolutely necessary preservation of free institutions as against corruption and arbitrary monarchical rule. They sought this freedom for all — Hawaiians as well as haoles. To have submitted to Kalakaua's foolishness or Liliuokalani's arbitrary wishes could have led only to disaster.

They served the future well by remembering that "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

### *Not a Race Struggle*

There are those who interpret the struggle with Kalakaua and overthrow of Liliuokalani as a race struggle pure and simple. They think that the Hawaiian monarchy went down because it was a dark-skinned government in a community where the white man was gaining the preponderant influence, commercially, financially and educationally; that it goes to show that white people will not endure government by a colored race.

A careful study of contemporary documents does not bear this theory out and I am strongly inclined to question it. There was an element of race prejudice, but it was on the other side. Kalakaua and his party played it for all it was worth as a political means of getting the Hawaiian people away from missionary influence. But the prejudice *against* the Hawaiian monarchy was due to its immorality, inefficiency and menacing reactionary spirit — not to the color of its skin. It must never be forgotten that the king's most sinister and influential advisers — men like Moreno, W. M. Gibson and Paul Neumann — were white men, while a majority of the pastors of the Hawaiian missionary churches stood with the anti-monarchial party. The attempt to explain this period of Hawaiian history as simply an inevitable racial struggle is vitiated by the fundamental fallacy which is also at the bottom of such sinister books as *The Passing of the Great Race* and *The Rising Tide of Color*, namely, that a race is a unit and has a race character. This is not so. Every race has in it elements good and bad, weak and strong. The good elements in all races have a common cause and should stand together. It is the evil elements that raise the cry of racial solidarity and try to rally the race to one side as a clever bit of practical politics, even as Kalakaua tried to do.

*Churches Decline*

But all this political upheaval was not accomplished without a great temporary setback to the Hawaiian churches which, by the withdrawal of the American Board, had been left during this critical period without adequate white leadership. One can trace the religious difficulty of these times by extracts from the Annual Reports of the Hawaiian Board of Missions. In 1875 we read that the churches are everywhere declining. In 1879 out of 57 churches, 20 are pastorless and the report says: "The cry of leanness, of 'dry-bones,' of barrenness, worldliness, stupidity and unbelief comes up like a wail of woe into our souls. . . . The causes of declension in many of our Hawaiian churches are obvious: viz., the spread of skeptical sentiments, the rush after things that are seen and temporal, the physical fatigue of increased labor and the increasing indulgence in habits which weaken and demoralize the higher powers of man."

*Undertow of Heathenism*

In 1880 we read: "From almost all the churches of the Western Hawaii Association there is reported the same story of indifference upon the part of church members and prevailing drunkenness among the people and too general indifference to religion." (This was the year after Kalakaua secured the repeal of prohibition.)

In 1887 we find, out of 51 pastoral charges, that 28 are without ministers and that "the hindrances to the development of Christian growth among the churches have been steadily increasing." In 1890 we read: "The past year has been one of political agitation. There has been a relaxing of general interest. A certain spirit of antagonism has been bred, race prejudices fostered and the undertow of the heathen spirit quickened." In 1896, for the first time in sixty years, the total number of converts fell below one hundred.



*R. J. Baker Photo.*

MISSION MEMORIAL BUILDING

Headquarters of the Hawaiian Board of Missions which carries on the work begun by the American Board of Missions in 1820.

*Ebb-Tide*

Or you can measure this ebbing tide in another way. In the forty years before 1864, when the American Board turned the churches over to native control, they had received 53,500 converts. During the next forty years they received only 12,000 converts. In 1862 over one-third of the total population were members of the missionary churches — in 1902, forty years later, only 10 per cent of the Hawaiians were members of the historic churches — to say nothing of the vast mass of non-Christian Orientals who had come crowding in, repaganizing Hawaii in a generation.

*Brighter Days*

But let me hasten to add that brighter days were already dawning. This first gleam of dawn began in the later eighties with the opening of the Kamehameha Schools, the organization of Central Union Church and the awakening of the Hawaiian Board to work for Chinese and Japanese. After annexation, as the Hawaiians found they had the franchise and as much political power as before, together with a prosperous and stable social order, the old animosities of revolutionary days gradually died away and a new era of good feeling between the races came in. Under more active leadership and a more aggressive policy, the Hawaiian Board began to recover some of the ground which had been lost. During the five years from 1904 to 1909 a gain of 23 per cent was made in membership, and in the purely Hawaiian churches the gain was 26 per cent. In 1909 the total additions were 727 or 10 per cent of the previous total membership, the largest addition on confession of faith since 1869. In 1915 the beautiful Mission Memorial Building was dedicated as a headquarters for missionary work among all the races and in 1920, the Hawaiian Board churches report a total membership of all races of 10,473. Of these 4,632 are Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian — 11 per cent of all the people of Hawaiian



blood in the Territory. It should also be added that, though depleted in membership by this era of turmoil and reaction, the Hawaiian churches have wonderfully retained their community leadership and today furnish a very large proportion of the strongest and most hopeful leaders within the Hawaiian race.

### *The Sugar Industry*

One other element in the complication of this period remains to be dealt with — the sugar industry and the vast immigration, largely Oriental, which resulted from it. The reciprocity treaty of 1876 with the United States made sugar a profitable industry. It had to be carried on in a wholesale fashion. Large companies were necessary to clear the land, build irrigation systems and erect and operate sugar mills. This meant an industrial revolution. From a nation of small agriculturalists, fishermen and sailors, Hawaii became a land of big sugar corporations. One pressing problem was to secure labor. The total population in 1872 was only 57,000 and the Hawaiians were not well adapted temperamentally to sustained field labor in large gangs.

### *Oriental Immigration*

From this need of large gangs of unskilled field labor resulted an immigration policy which in the twenty-three years from 1876 to 1899 brought into the territory over 120,000 immigrants at a total cost in government appropriations of \$1,500,000. Of these 120,000 new members added to Hawaii's happy family in practically twenty years, 35,000 were Chinese, 68,000 Japanese, 3,000 South Sea Islanders, 11,000 Portuguese, largely from the Azores Islands, and 2,000 Europeans.

Add to these figures the facts that this mass of immigration was made up of contract laborers, many of whom became discontented with the labor conditions they found and left the plantations on the expiration of their contracts, and also that they were, except in the case of the Portuguese and Euro-

peans, largely single men without their wives or families, and you can see what a tremendous social complexity and overwhelming religious problem was loaded onto a little nation quite ill-equipped either religiously or governmentally to deal with it.

*Hawaii Hopeful Today*

Yet out of the turmoil and confusion of Hawaii's middle period has come the fascinating and hopeful Hawaii of today. The races have learned to get along together, partly because there were so many of them that none could afford to refuse to others the respect it demanded for itself. The labor conditions on the plantations have changed greatly for the better and are today undergoing marked improvement. The public schools, sound territorial government and the unifying influence of the war with its "drives," Red Cross work and education in patriotism have promoted Americanism. And, by no means least, the religious spirit has risen up in manifold ways to meet the challenge of modern conditions in a way that is worthy of the missionary pioneers.

*The Missionary Spirit*

Great credit for all this is due to the persistence of the essential missionary spirit in the descendants of the early missionaries. In no part of the United States is there a greater feeling of responsibility on the part of employers and managers for labor — especially for the laborers of an alien race. The old missionary tradition of helpfulness manifests itself in plantation welfare work and socialized medical care, in endowed schools especially for Hawaiians and Orientals, in a remarkable program of social work in settlements, kindergartens and churches, and in an annual United Welfare Campaign which raises each fall some three hundred thousand dollars in Honolulu alone for all manner of social service institutions. All of this is largely supported financially by descendants of the missionaries and is all conducted without a trace of racial prejudice or the slightest discrimination because of nationality or color.



THE ARMY AND NAVY Y. M. C. A.  
In Honolulu — formerly the Royal Hawaiian Hotel.

## CHAPTER III

### PRESENT INTERRACIAL AND EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

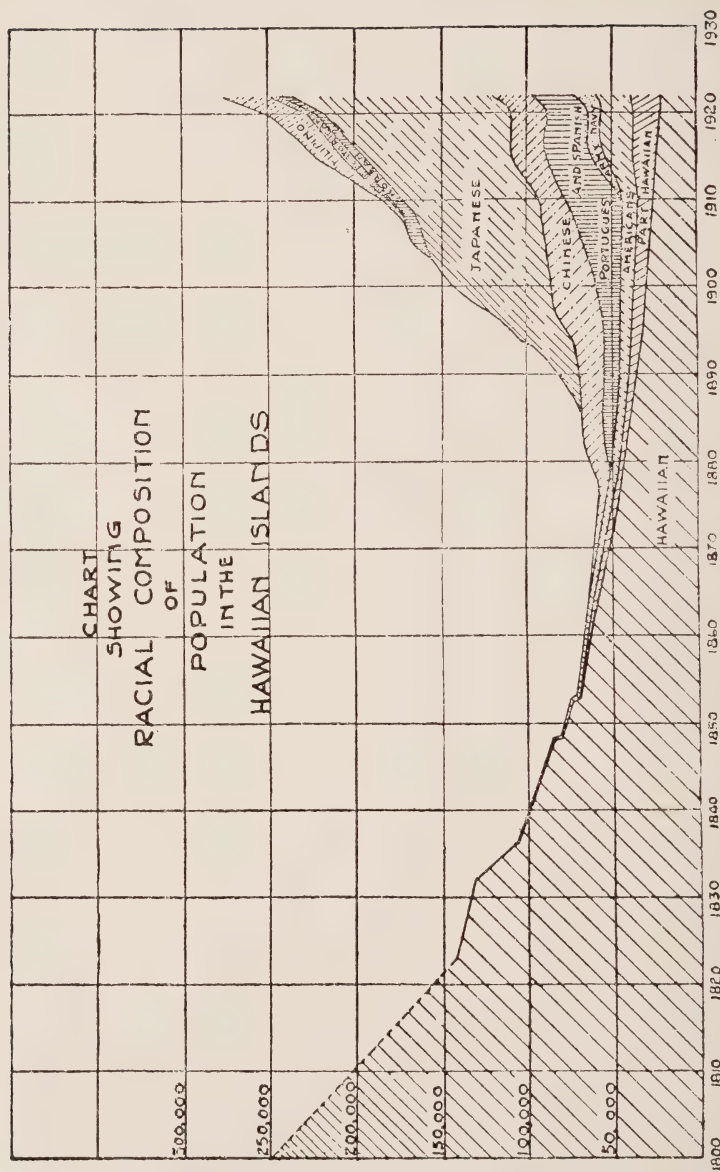
The importance of Hawaii is not in its past but in its present. The preceding chapters have emphasized its romantic missionary history and its troubled period of reaction and turmoil not for their own sake so much as to prepare the way for a better understanding of the living problem of today. If, by some cataclysm of nature, Hawaii had disappeared forever beneath the waves of the Pacific about 1900, the history sketched thus far might be interesting and instructive but it would have nothing like the point which it now has as forming the background to one of the most curious and conglomerate civilizations to be found anywhere on the face of the earth today.

#### *Interracial Laboratory*

As Prof. M. M. Scott has said, "Hawaii is an ethnological museum and a sociological laboratory." Here is a catalogue of the contents of this museum and the human raw materials of this laboratory according to the censuses of 1910 and 1920:

Race	1910	Per Cent	1920	Per Cent	Increase Since 1910 Per Cent	
Hawaiian . . . . .	26,041	13.5	23,723	9.3	2,318*	8.8*
Asiatic Hawaiian . . . .	3,734	1.9	6,955	2.7	3,221	86.2
Caucasian Hawaiian . . .	8,772	4.5	11,072	4.3	2,300	26.2
Portuguese . . . . .	22,301	11.6	27,002	10.5	4,701	21.0
Porto Rican . . . . .	4,890	2.5	5,602	2.1	712	14.5
Spanish . . . . .	1,990	1.03	2,430	0.9	440	22.1
Other Caucasian (i. e., white American largely) . . . . .	14,867	7.7	19,708	7.7	4,841	32.5
Chinese . . . . .	21,674	11.2	23,507	9.2	1,833	8.4
Japanese . . . . .	79,675	41.5	109,274	42.7	29,599	37.0
Filipino . . . . .	2,361	1.2	21,031	8.2	18,670	790.7
Korean . . . . .	4,533	2.3	4,950	1.9	417	9.2
Negro . . . . .	695	0.3	348	0.1	347	50.0
All other . . . . .	376	0.1	310	0.1	66	17.5
Total population . . . .	191,909		255,912		64,003	33.3

\*Decrease.



By S. W. Tay — Used by permission.



These figures may be brought more nearly up to date by the Board of Health estimate of July, 1923, that the total population is 298,500 of whom the Japanese number 120,590; Chinese 23,714; Filipinos 36,199; Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians 41,356; Koreans 5,608; Porto Rican 6,375; Portuguese 26,377; other Caucasians 35,744 (not including approximately 15,000 in military and naval service).

This is a very interesting lot of raw material for a sociological laboratory, the numbers are large enough to be significant and at the same time small enough to be observed and studied intimately and the laboratory is located on a group of islands, 2000 miles from shore and as isolated as possible from the great continents bordering on the Pacific. It is not exactly a vacuum, for our laboratory is jarred and disturbed by mainland happenings, and yet we have a fairly independent character and mind of our own.

### *Christian Background*

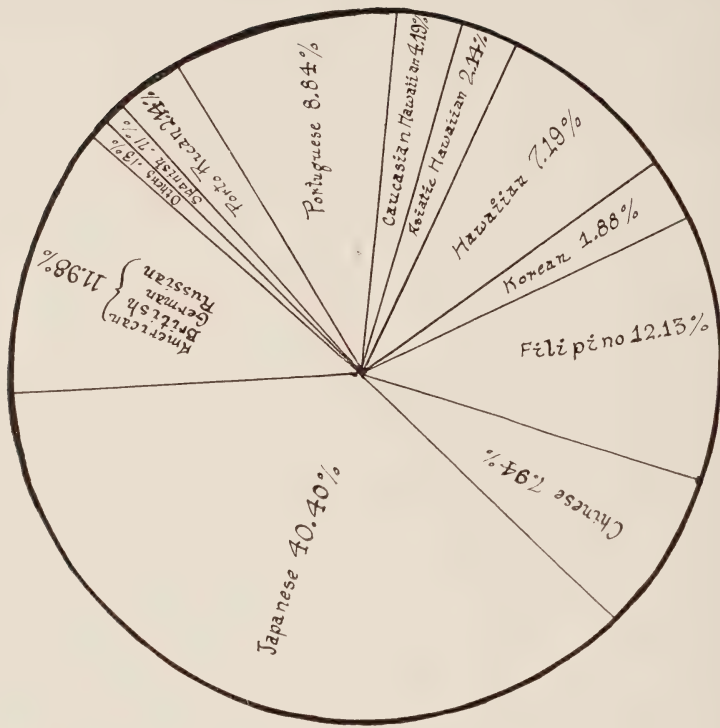
Moreover Hawaii is a sociological laboratory with a distinctly Christian background, due to the heroic and successful labors of the noble group of missionaries who came to Hawaii when these islands were as obscure and remote from the currents of human progress as Borneo or Celebes today. So far as they could tell, it made little difference to human history whether they succeeded or failed. They little dreamed these islands would one day be at the focal point of the Pacific, working on problems whose hopeful solution would go far to establish the peace of the world or whose failure might seriously disturb it. But they did their work "not as men pleasers but as serving the Lord" and, amid obscurity and hardships, they transformed a barbaric despotism into a civilized Christian state with a Bible, public-school system, constitutional government and a deep-rooted native church. Any one seeking a concrete argument for foreign missions would do well to come to Hawaii, see what the missionary

American, British, German, Russian, not including Army and Navy . . . .	35,774
Japanese . . . . .	120,590
Chinese . . . . .	23,714
Korean . . . . .	5,604
Filipino . . . . .	36,199
Hawaiian . . . . .	21,468
Asiatic Hawaiian . . . .	7,374
Caucasian Hawaiian . . .	12,514
Portuguese . . . . .	26,397
Porto Rican . . . . .	6,375
Spanish . . . . .	2,105
Others . . . . .	402

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Total . . . . . 298,500

According to estimate in Territorial  
Board of Health Report, 1923.



fathers did and then consider how different would be Hawaii's situation today if all American Christians had said in 1819, "There is work enough to do at home. Why waste money on foreign missions?"

### *Changed Conditions*

Today we have in Hawaii a very different people from that with which the missionaries had to deal. They met an open-hearted, childlike race, its old religion already discredited and discarded, standing ready to accept the missionaries as messengers of God. We deal not with one race, but half a dozen. The majority of our population come of a racial culture as old or older than our own, which feels, and acknowledges, no inferiority. The religion we face today is a great ethnic faith, Buddhism, reenforced by an alert priesthood and active organization, with a powerful national consciousness in the background.

### *Subtle Opposition*

The missionaries had opposition but it was the definite, open and easily discredited opposition of the beach-comber and the dissolute sailor. Our opposition is more subtle and more sinister. It has good clothes and social standing, but it poisons the community steadily by its cynical contempt and suspicion of that race with whom we must learn to live as Christian brothers in a common American civilization. It sees our task, repudiates it and tries to rush us all headlong into the darkness of increasing prejudice and hostility and the ruthless use of force instead of persuasion. The ultimate goal of this spirit and policy is war, especially when dealing with a romantic, sensitive and high-strung race like the Japanese. This jingo element in Hawaii is small, and ordinarily under cover, but it is here and, given the right conditions, would go into eruption.



*R. J. Baker Photo.*

GIRLS OF SIX RACES

Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Hawaiian, Porto Rican and Filipino (beginning at upper left)

*No Race Prejudice*

One valuable result of our missionary background, however, is that there is in Hawaii a minimum of race prejudice. This is, of course, the very quality one would seek in a good interracial experiment station. It is also a very fortunate thing that Hawaii's basic race is neither Caucasian, Negro nor Mongolian but the kind-hearted, tolerant, loveable Polynesian whose most characteristic contribution to present-day Hawaii is the spirit of "aloha." Aloha means love, friendship, good will, how-do-you-do or good-bye as occasion demands, so pervasive and all-embracing a word it is! The fact that the Hawaiian race has never been degraded or enslaved, but that its social standing has been maintained by kings and queens, and that the missionaries respected and inculcated respect in others for the native government, also contributes a very important favorable element to Hawaii's interracial mental attitude.

*Race Mixtures*

The Hawaiians are the basic race in more senses than one, for they have intermarried freely with both Caucasians and Chinese. The Japanese do not generally marry with other races but there will probably be an increasing mixture between the Hawaiians and the Filipinos, our latest strata of immigration. These interracial combinations have been remarkably successful and, although the pure-blooded Hawaiians are slowly decreasing (the rate of decrease was reduced last decade, however, to 8 per cent, from 12 per cent the decade before) the part-Hawaiians are rapidly increasing and are characterized in general by a hopeful combination of Chinese or Caucasian energy and ability with Hawaiian beauty and aloha. Rev. Akaiko Akana, pastor of Kawaiahao, our largest Hawaiian church, and graduate of Hartford Theological Seminary, is a striking example of the Chinese-Hawaiian combination while Rev. Stephen Desha, a Congregational minister



of Hilo and a senator as well, is an outstanding Hawaiian-American.

### *Here by Invitation*

The interracial situation in Hawaii is also favorably influenced by the fact that all of the racial groups here represented have come by invitation. None have pushed themselves in. And you may add to this the fact that the very variety of races which we have makes it necessary that they should all accord to one another the tolerance and respect which they would claim for themselves. There is often safety in numbers and the very fact that we have half a dozen races instead of two probably simplifies our problem more than it complicates it.

### *Interracial Athletics*

Athletics also contribute to a wholesome feeling of racial fellowship. A certain plantation started the season with several baseball teams on strictly racial lines. But, when the team was made up at the end of the season to play the championship game with the next plantation, it was an interracial composite based on athletic ability rather than racial origin. In a preliminary practise the captain a "hapa-pake" or Chinese-Hawaiian called out: "Hey, Lee Hop, you pitch and, Fuji, you catch, you Portugee on first base, Filipino on second, Kanaka on third and you haole (white man) play short!" Then, turning with a grin to the plantation welfare worker, who was umpiring, he remarked philosophically: "All mix up like hell!" Some of us hope it will be that way in heaven too!

### *Respect for Orientals*

Certainly no open-minded American can live in Hawaii long without learning a deeper respect for the races of the Orient. The stalwart endurance of the Chinese, the courtesy and sensitiveness of the Japanese, the passionate national loyalty of the Koreans, and the capacity for hard work and

unquenchable thirst for education which characterize all three, put us Americans to shame, and sometimes make our young people seem very easy-going and superficial. Even in Punahou School, which is 90 per cent Caucasian, the Oriental group often lead in scholarship. I well remember an "oratorical contest" where the prize went to a Chinese boy for a negro dialect selection! What chance did a red-headed American youth have against competition like that?

### *Amalgamation*

The process of fusing all these different races together into a common Christian community is one of the most interesting social spectacles in the world. It needs to be seen to be understood. It involves, of course, obstacles and elements of discouragement. But in spite of all short-comings and limitations the great work is going on. The public schools are making the English language and American ideals and ways of thinking the common heritage of all our children and, in spite of about eighty Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines, it is Christianity that is advancing in its appeal to the younger generation. There is no lack of opportunity or responsiveness to the work of our Hawaiian Board of Missions. The questions are all with us, the Christian leaders of Hawaii — our wisdom, our power to secure financial backing and trained workers, our ability to arouse the Christian community to see the visions and the opportunity.

### *Three Americanization Stories*

Many stories might be told of this new Americanism. I will give just three. In June, 1921, it was my privilege to give the graduating address for a public school at Lahaina. The valedictorian, a Chinese boy, said in closing: "Most of us come from homes of alien parents. But we are Americans. This is our country and our class motto 'To serve our country better' is the personal motto of every member." I judged

the racial make-up of the class to be Hawaiians 6, Chinese 2, Portuguese 2, Norwegians 2 and Japanese 12. But when I inquired about it from two different members of the class they could not tell me. They were all thinking of themselves simply as Americans and I had to go to a teacher for an answer to my question. Another story has to do with Jo the chauffeur for Kula Sanitarium. A friend of mine asked him: "Jo, you aren't pure Hawaiian, are you?" "Oh, no," he replied, "my father was part-German and part-Portuguese and my mother was part-Hawaiian and part-Chinese." "Well, Jo, what does that make you?" "Me? Oh, I'm an American!" It was also at Kula that an orchestra composed of three Filipinos, two Hawaiians, two Chinese-Hawaiians, one Japanese and one Portuguese marched in an impromptu Armistice Day parade singing "We're going to show the Kaiser how the Yankee boys come through!"

Thus, in a general way, the outlook of our interracial experiment station is hopeful. But I want to go on now to say something more in detail about our educational, economic and religious problems and point out more adequately the delicacy and magnitude of our task in this Mid-Pacific social laboratory.

### *Public Schools*

Educationally our problem is this: Our public schools are crowded with 48,730 children of whom 55 per cent are Oriental — 23,947 Japanese alone. The Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian children make up 18 per cent and the Portuguese another 18 per cent while the American children in the public schools are only a fraction over 2 per cent. This small percentage of Americans is due to the fact that the bulk of the white children, especially in Honolulu, go to private schools like Punahou and the Honolulu Military Academy, which are almost entirely white, though Punahou, for the educational value of their presence, admits 10 per cent of selected Orientals. It

should be pointed out that the absence of American children from the public schools is almost entirely due to the language problem and is not due to race prejudice or snobbishness.

### *Oriental Morals*

Most emphatically, it is not due to any fear of moral contamination from the Oriental children. As former superintendent of schools, H. W. Kinney, bears witness, the Oriental pupils give less trouble through offenses against decency or good morals than the average white children on the mainland. And, as every teacher in Hawaii knows, the Oriental pupil is docile, eager to learn, easy to discipline and very respectful to and appreciative of his teacher. If this were not so some of our schools, like McKinley High in its terribly over-crowded condition, would be a veritable bedlam. But when I tell you that, according to the Federal Survey of our schools made in 1919, not more than 3 per cent of the children entering school at the age of six or seven can speak the English language at all adequately, but use instead a pidgin English which is something wonderful to understand and terrible to talk, then you will readily see what constant drill, drill, drill in English must be given in the schoolroom. Now the American white child does not need this drill and, on the other hand, is in danger of substituting pidgin English for his native tongue in its purity and power. What this pidgin English is can be illustrated by the following sentence: "Please 'scuze no come school — mama planty pilikia, moemoe no can, kau-kau no can, hana-hana no can, wikipiki she go make." Which being interpreted means: "My mother is in great trouble, she can't sleep or eat or work and she may die very soon!" It's tragic but it is not Shakespearean English, is it?

### *Educational Standards*

Now the public schools, considering all their handicaps, are wonderfully efficient and are making steady progress under



*City Photo Co.*

TEACHING CHINESE WOMEN ENGLISH  
Y. W. C. A. International Institute



the enlightened leadership of Mr. Willard E. Givens, the present superintendent of public instruction. "Hawaii has had a compulsory school law since the '40's, in this respect far antedating many of the states," as Mr. Riley H. Allen points out in his admirable article on "Education and Race Problems in Hawaii" in the *Review of Reviews* for December, 1921. Mr. Allen also calls attention to the fact that "Dr. Leonard P. Ayres in his authoritative study, 'An Index Number for State School Systems,' published by the Russell Sage Foundation, ranked Hawaii twenty-third in the list — Hawaii's public school system being given as surpassing those of Illinois, Kansas, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, Virginia, Tennessee, Missouri, Vermont, and other states." This report took consideration of such factors as number of children attending school, amount of training they secure, progress made, amount expended for buildings and supplies, salaries paid teachers and similar items, combining these factors into a single index number which shows the general standing or efficiency of the system. This same report also declared that "educational opportunities are more widely distributed throughout the entire area of the Territory of Hawaii than in any mainland state."

#### *Not all White*

All this is the more noteworthy when you remember that these pupils are predominantly *not* of the white race. But, for that matter, the teachers are not all white either. The Federal School Survey has a very interesting chart showing the racial origin of the elementary school teachers as follows: Anglo Saxon, 40 per cent, Portuguese 12 per cent, Hawaiian 9 per cent, Chinese 9 per cent, Japanese 5 per cent and mixed races, like Hawaiian-Chinese or Hawaiian-American, 25 per cent.

*Private Schools*

The public-school system is supplemented by private schools which enroll 8470 children. This includes Punahou for white children; the Kamehameha Schools endowed especially for those with Hawaiian blood; missionary schools, like Mid-Pacific Institute, Iolani School, Maunaolu and Kohala Seminaries and Hilo Boarding School, which seek to train Christian leaders for tomorrow among the Orientals and Hawaiians; and the Catholic parochial schools which enroll 2765 pupils of all races.

*Foreign Language Schools*

Another curious supplement to the public schools is the foreign language school system, maintained by the Orientals to teach their very difficult written languages to the rising generation. There are 155 such schools with 367 teachers and 20,352 pupils. Of these 241 are Korean; 1170 Chinese and 18,920 Japanese. These schools formerly required attendance before and after the public schools and were severely criticized as un-American in their influence, with the result that they have now been placed under the control of the department of public instruction. This question about language schools will be taken up later in the chapter on "The Japanese Problem in Hawaii."

*One Product of the Public Schools*

An unexpected and somewhat dramatic demonstration of the effectiveness of Hawaii's public schools was made early in 1923 by the announcement that the American Legion's first prize of \$750 for the best essay on "How the American Legion Can Best Serve the Nation" had been awarded to Ah Sing Ching of Ewa Plantation School. Ah Sing is an eighth grade boy, thirteen years old, a son of Cantonese parents, his father being a bookkeeper in a Chinese store at Waipahu. He won this first prize in a nation-wide contest against over 50,000

competitors, the second prize being awarded to Pauline Virginia Chastain, a seventeen-year-old girl in Indianapolis.

*Would this Boy Make a Good Citizen?*

One phrase in this essay is an epigram especially applicable to Hawaii: "What we want in our nation, we must put in our schools!" The essay which follows is first-hand evidence of what the schools are putting into the rising generation for, of course, what Ah Sing writes he learned first of all at school. Incidentally there is a gentle irony in remembering that this boy of Chinese parentage would be denied his birthright of American citizenship by certain anti-Oriental measures advocated somewhat widely on the Pacific Coast and even on the floor of recent conventions of the American Legion itself. Here is Ah Sing Ching's brief essay in full.

*The American Legion Prize Essay*

"The American Legion, which is composed of men and women who enlisted for the defense of our country during the war, stands for unity, democracy, peace, and service to God and our country.

"The slogan of our country is, 'In union there is strength,' and it is because of this unity our country is so strong; but during the world war we found that we had internal as well as external enemies. Bolshevism, Communism and Anarchy are as real enemies as any we had to fight overseas, and much harder to conquer.

"The American Legion can do a wonderful service to the country by encouraging a spirit of unity and cooperation, and by teaching foreigners who come into the United States how to live under a Republican form of government, and by helping them to understand that ours is a government of the people, by the people and for the people, and it shall not perish from the earth. Many foreigners come from countries where they have been oppressed, and they do not understand the

word liberty, but think it is a license to commit crimes. These people must be taught and the American Legion can aid in doing this.

“ We learned at the beginning of the world war that many of our citizens were uneducated, and that not nearly enough money was being spent for schools. Here is a great work for the American Legion, to see that every child in the United States has a chance to be educated. What we want in our nation we must put in our schools, so that need for schools and well trained teachers is very great. Night schools for the training of men and women who work during the day help to educate our citizens, and those who wish to become citizens. The American Legion is on the side of education and we believe will make every effort to see that the schools of the United States rank first in the world and that every citizen has the opportunity for learning.

“ During the world war many of our soldiers were wounded and returned home suffering from shell-shock, sick and unable to care for themselves. They fought in a great cause and deserve well of their country and their comrades. The Legion can give these returned veterans aid and comfort, and after they have sufficiently recovered, help them to become self-supporting. Many of them will be unable to follow the same occupation that they did before the war, but some kind of work can be found for them to do. The Legion should see that their comrades are always cared for.

“ The United States is not a military nation and believes in war for defense and not for conquest. At the close of the war our country asked for no land and no indemnity. Not many months ago President Harding called a conference of the nations to discuss a reduction of armies and armament. The American Legion can aid by fostering and encouraging peace and good will among nations and by standing for a fair deal between large and small nations, allowing the small nations to decide for themselves how they shall be governed.

"I hereby pledge my word of honor that I have written this essay myself. I am thirteen years old."

(Signed) "Ah Sing Ching,  
"Grade 8, Ewa School.

"Ewa, Oahu, T. H. October 5, 1922."

### *Opposition to High Schools*

If this chapter seems too optimistic, it may be well to balance it with one ominous fact in the educational situation in Hawaii — the fact that there are people, educated people proud of their Americanism, who, while ready to allow simple elementary education, look with disfavor on free High Schools accessible to all the people. They feel that the High Schools add too great a burden of taxation, produce too many candidates for "white-collar" jobs and will result in social discontent. One cannot but sympathize with this as a criticism on the content and method of secondary education, but is the denial of secondary education at all the right answer?

### *Is a Helot Class Desirable?*

If Hawaii is to be truly American it must continue to conform to American educational standards. Sharply to limit secondary education is to enter on a policy of repression which can only result in a permanently hopeless helot class or an explosion. On the other hand, the High School, which on the mainland is often called "the people's college" and which is consequently dear to the people's hearts, represents an open door of opportunity for the best qualified children of even the poorest parents to rise into the middle and professional classes. Is it not both un-American and dangerous to close this door? Although taxes for educational purposes may be higher than if free public High Schools were sharply limited, what about the future cost of ignorance, hopelessness, resentment and rebellion?



*Agricultural Education Needed*

On the other hand, there can be no question that secondary education requires special study and adaptation to the agricultural life of Hawaii. All our schools should give more care to vocational training to gear them into the great industries of the Islands. This, in turn, will require some changes and adaptations on the part of these industries in order to use and hold the more intelligent type of labor which the schools can furnish. It is a hopeful fact that some plantation managers believe this can be done.

## CHAPTER IV

### INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

#### *The Social Test*

The vitality of the missionary teaching of a hundred years ago was demonstrated by its beneficial social results. It blossomed out into constitutional government, emancipation of the common people from the tyranny of the chiefs, universal education and the permanent private ownership of homesteads. There is no question but that the acid test of Christianity in Hawaii today and in the years that lie ahead will be the social test. The Christian leaders of today will not be judged by the eloquence of their preaching or fervor of their prayer-meetings so much as by their ability to secure the application of Christian principles to the conduct of industry.

#### *Welfare Activities*

Honolulu is a veritable hive of social workers. Settlements, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., missions, kindergartens, scouts, playgrounds, district nurses, clinics, leagues and institutions — all the machinery of social service abounds. Too much cannot be said in praise of the unflagging and devoted volunteer service which, led by able and well-trained professional workers, carries on a ceaseless warfare against disease, poverty, ignorance, race prejudice and vice. In addition to the direct service which these social workers, both lay and professional, render, they have an indirect value in educating the public conscience and keeping it constantly focused upon social and economic problems.

*High Infant Mortality*

The need for this wide-spread interest in social welfare work is clearly indicated by Hawaii's surprisingly high infant mortality. The mainland infant mortality rate, in registration areas, for children under one year is 76 per thousand births. In Hawaii it was 120 in 1922 and, more startling still, it arose to 139.9 in 1923 according to official Board of Health figures. The Board of Health had these figures classified and segregated by districts and by races with the following very interesting result.

*Infant Mortality by Counties and Races*

Honolulu (city only) . . . . .	97	Filipino . . . . .	366
Oahu (outside the city) . . . . .	158	Hawaiian . . . . .	304
Hilo . . . . .	269	Asiatic-Hawaiian . . . . .	135
Hawaii (exclusive of Hilo) . . . . .	155	Portuguese . . . . .	133
Kalawao (Leper Settlement) . . . . .	200	Japanese . . . . .	120
Kauai . . . . .	141	Caucasian-Hawaiian . . . . .	96
Maui . . . . .	175	Other Caucasian . . . . .	55
Mainland United States . . . . .	76	Chinese . . . . .	65

A glance at these figures reveals that this is a rural problem quite as much or even more than it is a city problem. In the country responsibility is divided between the plantations and the local authorities. The plantations can largely determine health conditions within their boundaries but they cannot always control conditions in towns, like Waipahu or Wailuku, which are not on plantation property. Many of the plantations are already doing excellent welfare work and the hope for the country situation seems to lie in stimulating them to yet greater efforts. Led by the organized welfare work of the plantations, the local communities will eventually come up to higher standards.

*Causes of Infant Death Rate*

Social workers agree on the following causes of Hawaii's abnormally high infant mortality:

1. Lack of pre-natal care and instruction for mothers.

2. Lack of proper medical care for mother and child at birth and afterwards. Babies are generally delivered by ignorant, untrained midwives without doctor or nurse.
3. Ignorance of mothers as to the proper care of children. Children play and sleep on damp and dirty floors and are improperly dressed.
4. Improper feeding due both to absence of milk, poor quality of milk, use of condensed milk and largely to sheer ignorance of mothers as to proper food for babies.
5. Venereal disease and other sickness on the part of parents.

In other words poverty, ignorance, bad milk and inadequate social and medical service are the causes of our humiliating infant death rate. Children of the wealthy, educated, prosperous classes do as well in Hawaii as anywhere under the flag — probably better — it is the poor and ignorant who see their babies die at the rate of from 100 to 300 a thousand.

### *How to Meet the Problem*

Without good pure milk no great reduction of infant mortality is possible. Hence the need of reenforcing the Board of Health's corps of inspectors. Honolulu's milk supply comes largely from small dairies using obsolete methods. Dairy-men must be taught to wash their cows, use clean hands, clothes and small top pails and sterile equipment. Outside the city some plantations are leading in this direction, but not all. Twenty modern dairy plants have been installed in the past four years making twenty-eight in all. Two other plantations supervise dairies they do not own while the remaining ten or twelve are supplied by outside parties. But the presence of a dairy does not mean that all children in all camps have milk. A man high up in the plantation welfare work tells me that there are in reality ten plantations where there are sufficient visiting nurses and milk supply to insure the furnishing of milk to all children who need it.



*R. J. Baker Photo.*

FILIPINO WOMEN

Receiving instruction in care of children. A Y. W. C. A. class in the tenements.



*More Nurses and Socialized Medicine*

Pure milk is helpless to cope with the infant mortality problem if the people are ignorant of how to care for it and use it. Filipinos now outnumber Japanese on the plantations and their terrific infant mortality rate is largely due to ignorance. All the plantations have hospitals with a staff of doctors and resident nurses but the next great need seems to be for more visiting nurses to educate ignorant mothers in the elements of baby hygiene. On Jan. 1, 1924, there were 21 plantations which reported 27 visiting nurses on full time and 11 more which employed a visiting nurse each on half time. This makes a total of 32½ full time visiting nurses on 32 plantations leaving 10 plantations apparently without any visiting nurses at all. If the basic industries import ignorant laborers, they must either educate them in child hygiene or be prepared to contemplate an infant mortality rate utterly un-American and appalling to the Christian conscience. Next to the Filipinos, come the Hawaiians as victims of high infant mortality. Very few Hawaiians live on the plantations, so this is a problem for the general community. The greatly lowered infant death rate in Honolulu itself is probably due to the efficient work of Palama Settlement with its baby clinics, milk supply and district nurses. This work should be carried to all non-plantation communities. Nurses should also be supplemented by trained and licensed mid-wives.

*A Measure of Progress*

Some one should watch carefully year by year the trend of Hawaii's infant mortality, and bring it home unsparingly to the conscience of the community. It is a fairly accurate index of social efficiency. Is there any insuperable reason why Hawaii might not attain to the standard of its neighbor to the south, New Zealand, which has an infant mortality of only 42 as over against Hawaii's 139.9?

*Hawaii's Economic Basis*

Hawaii is normally a prosperous community. Its total exports for 1921 were \$131,000,000, of which sugar made up \$94,000,000 and pineapples \$30,000,000. The imports for 1921 were about \$90,000,000, leaving a favorable net trade balance of \$41,000,000. Times were hard in Hawaii later on because of the low price of sugar and always will be hard whenever the wholesale price for raw sugar drops under 4 cents a pound.

*The Sugar Industry*

Now the sugar industry has always been run on a wholesale basis — big corporations, big plantations, big sugar mills — a few white men directing the industry and a great mass of unskilled labor, mostly Oriental and Portuguese, living in plantation “camps” and doing the work. In days gone by labor was brought in under contract and there are persistent echoes of harsh treatment, inadequate and unsanitary housing, and cruel lunas or field bosses in those old unhappy days. Doubtless then, as now, conditions varied greatly on different plantations; some managers were just and considerate, some harsh and arbitrary. And it should also be noted that contract labor was not so much a matter of choice as of necessity, for the home governments from which the laborers came insisted on a contract system before the emigration would be permitted. This was to guarantee their nationals continuous employment at definitely agreed upon wages.

*Plantation Welfare Work*

But, leaving the past to take care of itself, we can rejoice that today a very different spirit prevails. There are a few plantations, reported recently by the Japanese Consul-General, where the housing conditions are still very bad but, on the other hand, many plantations today are putting in operation a most commendable and enlightened program of welfare

work. They have excellent hospitals and constantly improving housing and sanitation. Recreational centers are growing up and trained welfare workers are on all the larger plantations. The wages that are paid, while small from a mainland standard, are reasonably adequate when one considers that they are supplemented by free houses, lights, fuel, water and medical attendance and that a profit-sharing system provides a bonus proportioned to the price of sugar. It should also be noted that plantation labor is not seasonal but is constantly employed all the year around. Neither weather nor the conditions within the industry itself ever compel the laborer to carry himself through a period of unemployment. This fact should be remembered before comparing wages paid in Hawaii with the higher rate per day commonly paid casual agricultural labor on the mainland.

#### *Criticism on Housing and Sanitation*

As an example of probably the most critical judgment possible on plantation housing conditions the following extract is given from the report of Paul Scharrenburg who studied labor conditions in Hawaii during the summer of 1922 as personal representative of Samuel Gompers. In the *American Federationist* of September, 1922, he says: "Aside from the usual board of health regulations, there is no law in the islands regulating sanitation and housing on sugar plantations. The Sugar Planters' Association, through its welfare department, has in recent years furnished the various plantations with blue prints of model laborers' cottages, bath houses and sanitary toilets. But the number of plantation managers who have taken the hint from the welfare department is comparatively small. The old whitewashed barrack type house in which the contract laborers were once herded is still in evidence, and fully 75 per cent of the toilets on all the camps visited were in disgraceful condition. A still greater percentage of the plantation managers would be subject to arrest for failing



MAKING POI IN ANCIENT HAWAIIAN STYLE

to observe minimum sanitary standards — that is, if the California law should apply to Hawaii.

“To be sure, there are honorable exceptions. And these exceptions prove what can be done to establish decent and homelike living conditions for the workers. The Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Co., Frank Baldwin, manager, on the island of Maui, is perhaps the most noteworthy example in this respect. Nearly all the laborers’ cottages are surrounded by private gardens and there is an atmosphere of that cleanliness and neatness which together with a sort of community spirit goes such a long way to make things agreeable even for the lowest paid day laborer.”

#### *Rebuttal from Planters’ View-Point*

An interview with Mr. D. S. Bowman, head of the sugar planters’ welfare bureau with regard to Mr. Scharrenburg’s statements just quoted brings out, however, the following facts in rebuttal: Instead of being slow to follow the recommendations about better housing, the plantation managers have heartily accepted and followed these suggestions in all new building, according to Mr. Bowman. The bad conditions Mr. Scharrenburg complains of are practically all confined to a few plantations which are not able to pay expenses, but on the plantations which are financially successful welfare work goes forward in hearty sympathy with the recommendations of the bureau. Not only on Maui but all over the Islands on all paying plantations “honorable exceptions” could have been found. It is only on these few unsuccessful plantations that the sanitary conditions complained of would reach 75 per cent. As to the California law, it is very stringent and somewhat technical. Failure to conform to all its details does not necessarily mean bad sanitary conditions here. Hawaii must be judged by the best local standards, not by an arbitrary unknown standard from somewhere else. During



1923 alone the plantations expended over \$900,000 for new and improved housing for employees.

### *Proposed Labor Importation*

And yet, in spite of all this welfare program, plantation work is not sufficiently attractive to hold or recruit its own labor supply and fresh importations have to be brought in — mostly from the Philippines, just now, though the planters have been recently seeking for a special dispensation of Congress whereby the Secretary of Labor may authorize the importation of Chinese for five-year periods to meet the present and any future shortage of labor. The sugar planters quite unitedly feel that this permission should be granted and that, if it is, it will greatly help the prosperity of the Islands and save the sugar industry from great losses through lack of sufficient labor to plant and harvest its crops. Because we are a part of the United States — a full-fledged Territory and not a mere “possession” or “dependency,” — we are governed by the same immigration laws as the mainland. But, because of our tropical climate and the nature of our industry, the planters argue, we need a rather different type of laborer from the mainland. In view of the present preponderance of Japanese the measure is urged as one that will even up the racial balance in population. What is even more to the point, the mere possibility of Chinese labor being brought in for emergency conditions will prevent the Japanese plantation laborers from organizing to control the labor supply and thus dictate to the plantations. There would always be a reservoir of docile labor to be drawn upon in case of a strike.

### *Arguments Against It*

It is only fair, however, to state some of the arguments made by the opponents of this proposal of Chinese short-term labor immigration. They object that, instead of helping Americanize the Islands, it might be used to perpetuate just those

features of industrial life which are least American, — that is, the system of large plantations operated by foreign non-English-speaking laborers with a sub-American standard of living — while the children of Hawaii, born here, educated in the public schools and Americanized in thought and ideals, will be driven by such competition either into an attitude of profound social discontent or into wholesale emigration to the mainland. The net result would be therefore to crowd out the very people who have been Americanized. Other minor arguments have to do with the evils of bringing in large numbers of single men to live in barracks without normal family life and with the difficulty of controlling them and guaranteeing their return to their native country.

### *Two Ideas of Americanization*

Obviously, two quite different conceptions of what is meant by “Americanization” are in conflict here. One argument contemplates the acquirement of English speech and American ideals, loyalties and standards of life as Americanization, while the other means by it the continued control of all phases of life by the present white Americans and their descendants. One use of the term means the permeation of all races and classes by American standards and ideals, the other means first and foremost absolute control at the top by white Americans and then as much of American education and living conditions as will not imperil this complete white American control. The sharpness of this distinction is due primarily to fear of the Japanese — and the Japanese question will be dealt with as a special problem in the next chapter.

### *Labor Commission Report*

During the winter of 1922-23 a Federal Commission appointed by the Secretary of Labor visited Hawaii and reported on Jan. 25, 1923, that, due to importation of Filipinos, no labor shortage existed in the sugar and pineapple industries. But

the Commission apparently did feel that the large preponderance of Japanese might prove dangerous to American control in case of a strike of a nationalistic rather than economic character. It therefore recommended that "In the event of and when an acute emergency of labor shortage shall arise, caused by other than bona-fide labor disputes, the Secretary of Labor shall submit for the consideration of the Congress of the United States the necessary evidence of such an emergency with a request that the President of the United States shall be empowered to authorize the temporary importation of any alien labor in such limited numbers as will bridge any such acute emergency, with the understanding that such alien labor will be returned to its home country as soon as the supply can be substituted by importation from the United States and its territories or at the discretion of the Secretary of Labor." This possibly foreshadows the action of Congress in this matter and would seem to afford ample protection against Japanese labor getting a strangle hold on the plantations — were it inclined to do so — in the interest of Japanese domination.

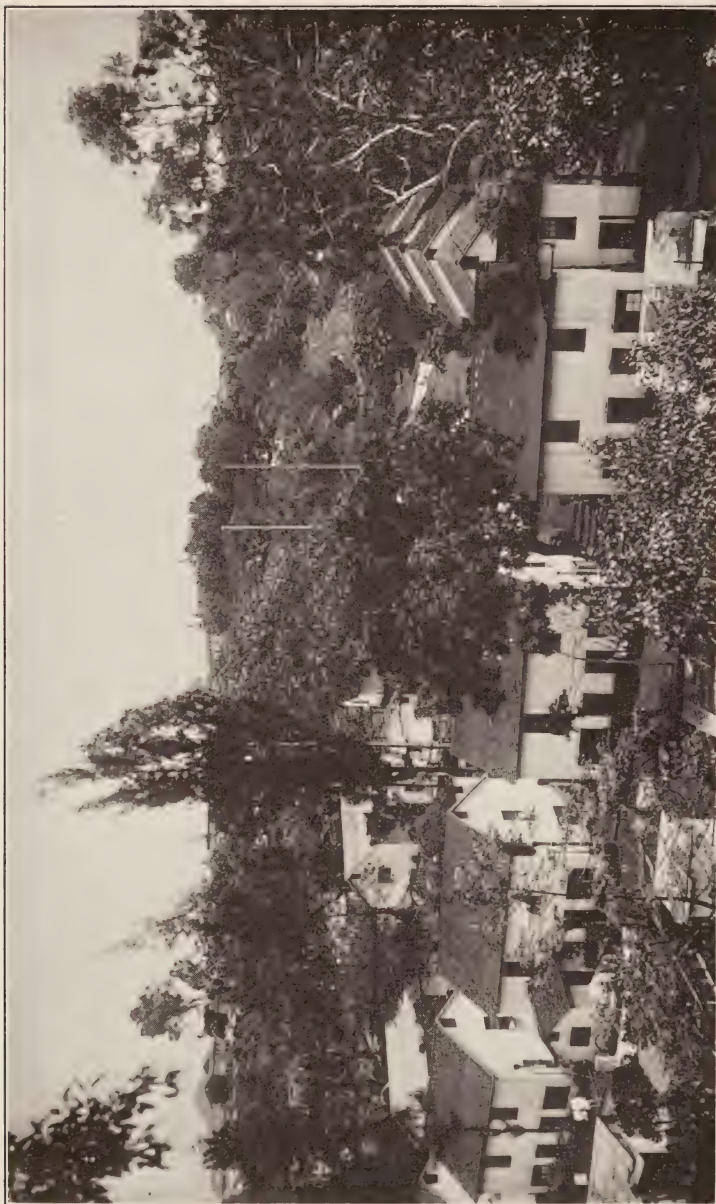
#### *Forecast of Changes in Sugar Industry*

Because of facts like these, it would seem quite evident to a clear-headed and impartial observer that there will probably come, sooner or later, some very important and interesting changes in the organization of the sugar industry. One forward step will be the development of labor-saving machinery for cutting and loading cane; another will be yet more intensive cultivation, in smaller units, which will call for more trained leadership, more intelligence on the part of the laborers and consequent closer relationships between superintendents and men. This would unquestionably produce a better morale in the laborer. That such intensive cultivation will receive increasing emphasis is indicated by the remarkable increase in tonnage of cane per acre produced in scientific ex-

perimental projects carried on under direction of Mr. Hamilton Agee, the Planters' Association expert. Another development may be a large extension of the "contract system" whereby the worker cultivates cane on an area assigned to him and becomes not a day laborer but, in a limited way, his own boss. "By common consent, cane-cutting and loading is rated as the most disagreeable work in the fields. Virtually all of this is now done by contract. A given number of men form a gang and arrange to do certain cutting or loading on contract. Obviously, this eliminates all dispute over the basic pay. The more work is done under the contract system, the more money is earned, and according to all available information this arrangement is coming into general use on all plantations." Out of this may grow at length definite lease or ownership of small areas of land, the plantation tending more and more to become simply the scientific supervising body, operating the central mill where the cane is ground.

### *Evolution, Not Revolution*

But, while progress must inevitably be made in the directions just indicated, it is very important that any such economic transformation should not be forced or abrupt. It should be an evolution, not a revolution, for revolutions are always costly. If the plantations were forced into a hasty or premature reorganization it would only mean great financial loss which would set back all community progress most disastrously. It must always be remembered that it is out of the sugar industry, and because of the community spirit and social vision of many of its leaders, that there comes money and leadership which make possible Hawaii's great program of educational, social and religious work. Economic disaster to the basic industry of the Islands would mean an educational, social and religious back-set as well. Personally, I have absolute faith in the economic future of the Hawaiian Islands. But I also believe that the same indomitable scien-



TYPICAL PLANTATION VILLAGE  
Of the better sort (Lihue, Kauai)



tific spirit, which has perfected the finest sugar technique in the world, the best sugar machinery and the most productive manipulation of fertilizer, irrigation and varieties of cane, must now be turned upon the human factor, the problem of how to secure morale in labor. This scientific ability, combined with the high Christian character and missionary inheritance of many leaders in the sugar industry, gives us hope that there will be no failure but that the future will show an advance as marked and commendable as that of the past.

#### *A Model Plantation Village*

Waimanalo Plantation, just across the pali from Honolulu, is an interesting illustration of the trend toward better things in the dominant industry of the Islands. This plantation used to have a very bad reputation sociologically. Housing conditions were notoriously bad and labor unhappy. This was partly because the lease was soon to expire and the plantation could not afford large investments in housing until it knew the lease would be renewed. Now the lease has been renewed and a splendid new \$500,000 sugar mill has been built and, just beyond it, a model village. Well built cottages of four rooms each, window screens, running water, excellent sanitary and bathing facilities, attractive architecture and even hibiscus hedges, make this something very different from the filthy old camps which still remain to tell of the past. They will soon be torn down, however, and the labor will be housed in the new village — some workers are living there already. This village will have its social center, store and moving picture theater and public school.

#### *A Model Rural School*

This Waimanalo public school will be one of the most admirable social achievements of Hawaii. It will have ample space — ten acres, if necessary, of fine sandy soil for playgrounds and gardens. It will be a new, clean, airy building on

the outskirts of the village, within walking distance of the finest beach on Oahu. Already, in its present dreary buildings, new spirit is being instilled into it because it is a teaching laboratory for the territorial Normal School. Seniors are no longer to prepare for rural school work by teaching in the city schools of Honolulu alone — relays of them will also teach at Waimanalo which soon will be a model rural school adjoining a model plantation village.

### *A Constructive Labor Program*

Is not this the ultimate and truly American solution to the labor problem? Although for the present Hawaii may have to continue importing labor, the ultimate goal should be to grow its own. A plantation village attractive to live in, a rural school emphasizing vocational work and interesting children in the soil, an enlightened plantation policy seeking to build morale among the workers and enlist their enthusiasm and their children's enthusiasm for Hawaii's basic industry — here is a program of constructive vision and power.

### *Other Industries*

Sugar is so predominant that, except for pineapple canning, the other industries of Hawaii are relatively small. Excellent coffee is raised in the Kona district of the Island of Hawaii and rice is raised in low fertile spots on all the Islands by Chinese who use primitive ancestral methods of agriculture. They employ picturesque water-buffaloes to plow their muddy fields. There is also a small banana industry, and some cattle raising on large upland ranches. Except for the latter, these industries are carried on by individuals on small pieces of land either leased or owned in fee simple.

### *The Pineapple Industry*

A little over twenty years ago, in 1900, a young Harvard graduate interested in agriculture came to Hawaii. His name

was James D. Dole, son of a well known Unitarian minister near Boston. He had the vision to see the possibilities in canning pineapple and organized a modest little company capitalized at \$20,000, with twelve acres of pineapple plantation. The first year's output was 1893 cases. Today, this company, while still the largest, is surrounded by fifteen other companies and the total production for the Islands is six million cases, representing about 140,000,000 cans or more than one can for each inhabitant of the United States! The value of the pineapple export business is from \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000 a year, and the area of pineapples under cultivation is continually expanding. All of the pineapples are canned in a few large canneries owned by the pineapple companies and most of the fruit is raised by the companies themselves, though there is an increasing number of individual farmers who raise " pines " on owned or leased land and sell to the canneries.

### *Pineapple Plantation Problems*

The chief problem is that, as Mr. Dole says, " No matter when you plant a pineapple it will do its level best to get ripe on the 31st day of July! " The pineapple industry is therefore a highly seasonal one as compared with sugar raising. It is interesting to note that the pineapple people have had very little labor trouble. This is due to a number of causes. For one thing, the laborers consider work on pineapple plantations more desirable because it is lighter, there being no heavy cane to be cut and loaded, and because pineapples are usually raised on the high and cooler uplands which are impossible for sugar on account of lack of irrigation. Pineapples require no irrigation. Moreover the pineapple industry has a somewhat more fortunate psychological approach to the laborer in that it has no inheritance of old and unpopular traditions in dealing with the workers.

*Model Canneries*

The two largest canneries in Honolulu are marvels of efficiency and cleanliness and of provision for the welfare of the employees. The Hawaiian Pineapple Company, the original company, for example, has the largest fruit cannery in the world with over 2,000 employees at the height of the season — the majority of them women and girls. Clean white aprons and caps are provided and also rubber gloves. Light and airy rest rooms and shower baths, an outdoor recreation ground of two acres, an emergency hospital, dispensary, and nurse, and a great clean, airy cafeteria where meals range from five cents to thirty-five cents, represent advanced ideas in welfare work. The five cent meal consists of a large plate of rice and wholesome meat stew and is served below cost. The Company invests \$18,000 a year in the cafeteria over and above its receipts but considers the return in health, efficiency and morale well worth the cost.

*Employee Partners*

This Company encourages its employees to become partners by purchase of stock which is sold to them, on certain conditions, at a price well below the market rate. There are also rewards for inventive ideas and helpful suggestions and there is an old-age pension system. It is noteworthy that the pineapple industry seems to have solved the problem of using the labor and securing the interest and cooperation of the second generation of Orientals. Its employees during the height of the packing season in the summer are many of them High School and University students, for the pineapple season and the vacation period coincide. Comfortable seats are provided for the hundreds of women and girls employed and every effort is made to make the cannery sanitary, well lighted and well ventilated. Federal and Territorial laws do not admit the employment of children under the age of fourteen and

those between fourteen and sixteen may work only eight hours a day. For a short time at the peak of the season, older workers are employed ten and twelve hours a day but with over time of fifty per cent increase per hour.



## CHAPTER V

### THE JAPANESE PROBLEM IN HAWAII

#### *"What About the Japanese?"*

Sooner or later every one who becomes at all interested in our remarkable interracial experiment station in Hawaii asks the question (sometimes in an ominous whisper), "Yes, but what about the Japanese?"

Well, we have our Japanese problem in Hawaii. By the census of 1920 we had approximately 110,000 of the Japanese race out of our total population of 250,000. There are four Japanese daily papers in Honolulu and upwards of eighty Buddhist temples or Shinto shrines in the territory. The dominant labor group on our plantations until recently and nearly half of our 48,700 school children are of the Japanese race. It should be noted, however, that only about half of our racial Japanese are Japan-born. The other half are native-born American citizens and are being educated in our public schools.

#### *Contrast with Pacific Coast*

Naturally with so large an alien group there has been some friction, even in a land with such favorable traditions of racial friendliness as Hawaii. That there has not been more friction is due to the fact that the problem has been dealt with otherwise than it has been on the Pacific Coast; and, also, it must be stated in all fairness, because the social psychology of the Japanese and their position in the community is free from some elements which have been sources of irritation in California and elsewhere. It must always be remembered that here in Hawaii we have no white laboring class for the Japanese to antagonize by competition and that the Japanese,

moreover, never pushed themselves into Hawaii. They came by invitation — although, of course, they come no more since the “Gentlemen’s Agreement.”

### *Not Inscrutable!*

As a result of these conditions the Japanese have never felt that they were looked upon with hostility and the effect upon their psychology is marked. They are distinctly more approachable and less inscrutable than on the mainland where their situation and, consequently, their psychology sometimes has an Ishmaelitish tendency. They are also less isolated. More and more, as school children, clerks and workingmen, they blend into the community, even though they seldom intermarry with other races.

### *Little Intermarriage*

This tendency of the Japanese not to intermarry with other races arouses much comment from Americans who come to Hawaii for the first time. Those who know Japanese civilization, however, point out that this is due not only to a high degree of racial consciousness and pride but also to the Japanese marriage customs by which parents select the matrimonial partners for their children. This means that the control of marriages remains for the present in the hands of the older, more conservative and least Americanized members of the race. Another generation and this control will have passed away. Then we may expect to see Japanese intermarry much more freely with the other races with whom they have grown up since childhood. If there has been more intermarriage on the part of the Chinese, that is because in the early days Chinese men came alone and, having no women of their own and being “good providers,” intermarried freely with the Hawaiians.

*The "Picture-Bride" System*

The "picture-bride" system, by which young women are brought from Japan to marry men whom they have never seen, though much criticized by many Americans, has this social value that it has made the Japanese home life as normal as possible by bringing in for Japanese laborers wives of their own race. Moreover, the picture-bride system, abnormal as it seems to Americans, is quite in harmony with Japanese customs, according to which the parents of the contracting parties and not the parties themselves arrange the marriage. There is a tendency, however, for a disproportionate number of picture-bride marriages to break up in divorce. This is due to the fact that such marriages have to meet the strain of a growing spirit of American independence unconsciously absorbed from life in Hawaii whereby young Japanese here are less and less inclined to accept with entire docility the judgment of their parental match-makers. One of the saddest evidences of this growing spirit of independence is to be found in the occasional reports in Honolulu newspapers of Japanese girls who have committed suicide rather than marry the choice of their parents. It is for this reason, rather than fear of picture-brides causing an undue increase of Japanese population, that many social and religious workers who are warm friends of the Japanese deplore the picture-bride system for obtaining wives for Hawaiian-born Japanese youth and urge its discontinuance.

*Labor Troubles*

The principal points of friction with the Japanese in Hawaii have been economic and educational. In the spring of 1920 the Japanese Labor Federation staged a strike of plantation labor which greatly harmed the previous good-will toward the Japanese. The movement was cleverly organized. Only on one island did the laborers strike. On the others they kept working and out of their wages paid strike benefits to support

the strikers. Thus the sugar planters were forced practically to finance the strike against themselves! The Japanese laborers had some real grievances, they did deserve a better basic wage, a bonus adjustment and improved living conditions. But they went about things in such a nationalistic fashion, even reporting non-strikers to their home-town officials in Japan, that it seemed as if American control of Hawaii depended on breaking the strike.

### *Effects of Strike 1920*

The strike finally collapsed as a strike but was practically continued for some time in an underground way by a listless and indifferent attitude on the part of many laborers and a general exodus of others to Japan. This whole situation probably was due in part to the short-sighted policy of the Hawaiian Planters' Association. The Planters were right in refusing to deal with the nationalistic Japanese Laborers' Federation but were they not wrong in failing to provide, as a substitute, some adequate machinery for representation whereby their employees could deal with them through mutually recognized and accepted channels? Morale, therefore, broke down in the sugar industry, as it must always break down where labor feels it is not consulted or given a fair opportunity for expression. But, in fairness to the Planters, the critically inclined should remember that there are peculiar difficulties in establishing an "attractive labor policy" when you are dealing with intensely nationalistic alien people behind whom is always the specter of their potentially aggressive and militaristic home government.

### *Language School Problem*

The second place of friction with the Japanese has been the Japanese language schools. These schools, organized and supported by the Japanese themselves, though aided by the plantations, took the Japanese children before and after the



*R. J. Baker Photo.*

JAPANESE FIELD LABORERS  
Dressed for work in pineapples or sugar-cane



public school hours and taught them the Japanese language, history and other subjects. Many of these schools were under Buddhist control. In line with the general American awakening about foreign language schools which resulted from the war, a movement developed here to abolish the language schools by legislative enactment. This problem, which at one time threatened to embitter our situation here beyond remedy, was helped a long way toward solution by an informal conference of the most broad-minded leaders of the community, both American and Japanese. The result was a law, suggested by the Japanese themselves, placing the language schools under control of the Board of Education, reducing the hours, and requiring all language school teachers to take courses and pass examinations in American history and ideals and the institutions of democracy, and in the English language, though this last requirement was to be liberally construed for the first two years.

The result has been satisfactory on the whole and has had a distinct Americanizing effect. The self-respect of the Japanese has been preserved and their educational leaders are being exposed to wholesome instruction in vital American principles. It should be noted that the leaders on both sides, both in proposing this plan and carrying it out, have been Christians — Christian Japanese, returned missionaries from Japan, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. secretaries and descendants of old missionary families in Hawaii.

### *Restrictions on Language Schools*

The Territorial Legislature of 1923 carried the control of language schools one step further by providing that no child should attend a language school until after the completion of the second grade in the public school and that all language schools should pay an annual license fee calculated on a basis of one dollar per pupil. The purpose of this legislation was not to persecute or hamper the teaching of Japanese and

Chinese but to insure a better command of English in the rising generation by eliminating the competing interest of another language until the children had concentrated on English speech for two years. The purpose of the tax was simply to finance the proper supervision of the language schools and the good faith of this was made evident at once by the appointment of a trained educator, a friend of the Japanese and foreign missionary in Japan, Dr. Henry Butler Swartz, as a full-time paid official of the department of public instruction, charged with the examination and oversight of the language schools and their text-books and the editing of text-books for further use. Although this measure met with considerable opposition by certain elements among the Japanese and was challenged in the courts, it represents a control so reasonable and necessary that its acceptance has been generally urged by the more enlightened leaders among the Japanese, including the Consul-General himself. In spite of this more than half of the Japanese language schools have taken legal steps to test the constitutionality of the law. They were inspired to do so by U. S. Supreme Court decisions holding unconstitutional the laws in certain states forbidding the teaching of German. The Hawaiian law, however, is not prohibitory but only regulative and supervisory.

#### *Diverse Japanese Opinions*

There are, of course, two parties among the Japanese — progressives who favor Americanization and reactionaries who dread and oppose it. Some Japanese, for example, are very tenacious about retaining the kindergarten grades as a part of their language schools while others recognize that the kindergarten work should be in English. The Nuanu kindergarten in Honolulu, built and financed in every way by Japanese, but administered on standard American kindergarten lines by the Free Kindergarten Association, is a splendid illustration of the earnestness and practical purpose of the

progressive Japanese. It is a striking fact that this English-speaking kindergarten for Japanese children, built and supported by Japanese, is located in the very compound where the first Japanese language school was opened by the Rev. T. Okumura some thirty years ago. The two institutions side by side mark the direction of progress.

### *Buddhist Influence*

The language school problem is complicated, then, by extremists on both sides. On the Japanese side there is doubtless a subtle but indefinite and hidden influence on the part of the Buddhist organization. The Buddhist and Shinto priests and temples are natural centers of nationalistic sentiment on the part especially of the older, non-English-speaking and un-Americanized Japanese. The language school often bears a relation to Buddhism in some ways analogous to the relationship of the parochial schools to the Catholic Church on the mainland. At all events since the Japanese language is the language of Buddhism and English is the language of Christianity, it would be only natural that conservative Buddhist influence should deplore any weakening of the Language School system. At the same time this influence, in the nature of things, is never expressed openly and remains subtle, hidden, imponderable.

### *Hasty Coercion Undesirable*

But there are also extremists on the American side and, while they may work secretly, they are also at times embarrassingly vocal and insistent. These are the people who talk shallowly about "one hundred per cent Americanism," "one people, one language," and who would wipe out all the Japanese language schools with one grand gesture of annihilation. These people fail to recognize that some things cannot be unduly hurried but that time is of the very essence of the process. They mistake an external unity of language for an



#### THE STORY OF ESTHER

Dramatized by a Chinese-Hawaiian boy as king, Hawaiian girl as queen, two Chinese attendants and two Japanese pages,  
at Honolulu Daily Vacation Bible School.

inner unity of spirit, forgetting that Great Britain and Ireland had one language but two peoples, while Switzerland has three languages but one people. Unity of language would be a poor thing at the cost of permanent estrangement and bitterness of spirit. They also fail to recognize the deeper problems of freedom involved. If they were living in Japan would they welcome, toward schools they might establish to teach English, such action by the Japanese government as they urge by ours? Moreover it is highly desirable that the Japanese language should be well taught in Hawaii, both now and for years to come, in order that family and commercial relations may be maintained. The great difficulty of written Japanese is that it is not phonetic but is largely expressed by arbitrary characters which convey ideas rather than sounds. Consequently a knowledge of spoken Japanese affords very little clue to written Japanese. Hawaiian-born children in Japanese homes may pick up the spoken language from their parents, but to speak correctly and especially to know and use the written language they need careful and thorough instruction either in special schools or by competent teachers in the public schools.

### *Expand the Public Schools*

The solution of the language school problem calls for great patience, tact and sympathy. As fast as possible the public schools must be enlarged by the addition of kindergartens, organized play, manual training and the teaching of Japanese. As fast as this is done the language schools will decrease while the public schools will increase.

### *The Teacher's Influence*

A year or two ago a local Japanese physician, who is a graduate of the Boys' High School and Cooper Medical College in San Francisco, picked up a little Japanese schoolboy for a ride in his automobile. "Which do you like best —



the American or Japanese schools? ” the doctor queried. With true Oriental diplomacy the boy shyly admitted that he liked them both but finally, on further acquaintance, expressed a preference for the American public school. “ But why? ” said the good doctor. “ Oh,” said the boy, “ in the Japanese school we have a man teacher and he is very cross but in the American school we have a kind lady teacher and we love her! ” And my friend, the Japanese doctor, said, as he told me the story, “ I wonder if you Americans realize the wonderful way in which your women teachers command the love of our Japanese children? ”

### *No Merely Negative Attitude*

Here is light on the Japanese language school problem. No merely negative attitude toward the language schools will solve the psychological problem involved in bringing the Hawaiian-born child of Japanese parents to full and complete Americanization. Indeed, a ruthlessly negative attitude might block the process by seeming to make martyrs of the language schools and thereby endearing them to those who otherwise would have become terribly bored by them in a few years. Whatever steps in control of the language schools may prove wise, tactful and just, the most fruitful approach to the problem will continue to be positive, not negative — substitution more than repression. Informed opinion believes that the language schools are inevitably destined to die out. Meanwhile we must create more than we take away. We must win because our schools and kindergartens in themselves win the love and loyalty of the children of all the different racial ancestries in Hawaii.

### *The Japanese Newspapers*

It was inevitable that, following the schools, the language press should come up for consideration. Here again more considerate counsels prevailed and, instead of abolishing the

language press, a strong law penalizing papers for publishing material inciting to disloyalty, violence or race antagonism was passed. It is worthy of note that the *Nippu Jiji*, the leading Japanese daily, publishes one page entirely in English.

### *Dual Citizenship*

Another potential source of friction is the anomalous and uncomfortable fact of dual citizenship. Federal laws do not permit the naturalization of Japanese but their children born in Hawaii are American citizens by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. This Amendment, adopted primarily to protect the negro in his citizenship rights, declares that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the States wherein they reside." But these young people are also subject to the jurisdiction of Japan, for, in most cases, they have been registered at birth at the Japanese Consulate. This is the custom of practically all nations — even Americans living abroad register their children at the American Consulate. Japanese parents here in Hawaii ten or twenty years ago, largely ignorant of America and counting themselves Japanese, naturally registered their children at their country's consulate, and continue to do so. But this makes the child, if a boy, liable for military duty according to the Japanese universal military service laws. And, unless before he arrives at the age of seventeen he files proper documents at the consulate making request for annulment of his Japanese citizenship, he is in due course of time given notice to appear for service in the Japanese army. If he disregards this summons, as practically all do, the Japanese government takes no further action unless he visits Japan, when, if he stays beyond a certain period, three months I understand, he is liable to be seized for military duty. But all this time he is a full-fledged native-born American citizen with all the rights and privileges appertaining thereto!

*International Agreement Needed*

It is perfectly clear that this is not a problem which can be settled locally. It should be settled as soon as possible by diplomatic conference between the American and Japanese governments. It is an anomalous situation which grows out of the unusual generosity of our American Constitution in granting citizenship automatically to all American-born children regardless of parentage and it should be noted that the Japanese government is not the only government with which it produces complications. Several European nations with compulsory military service take the same attitude as Japan to children born abroad.

*Local Complications*

How great is the need for prompt diplomatic settlement of this problem will be seen by the fact that Hawaii had in 1922 over nine hundred registered voters and potential officials or public school teachers who, through no fault of their own, were in the uncomfortable situation of being claimed as citizens by two countries. Of course all Hawaiian-born Japanese entering Normal School and High School sign a statement renouncing their Japanese citizenship, which is good as far as it goes, but does not affect their status under Japanese law. It is also interesting to know that the vital statistics for 1922 show that more births of Japanese parentage are reported by the Board of Health than by the Japanese Consulate. This indicates a very wholesome tendency on the part of at least some Japanese parents to cut loose entirely from Japan and renounce for their children any claim to Japanese citizenship.

*A Graduating Class*

Meanwhile, in spite of all difficulties, the process of making good American citizens of the Hawaiian-born Japanese boys and girls goes steadily forward through public schools and churches, boy scouts, girl scouts, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.

and the welfare work on the plantations. For example, a recent graduating class of McKinley High School numbered ninety-one. Of these, thirty-six were Japanese, thirty-five Chinese and the remaining twenty were Korean, part-Hawaiian and Caucasian. Of the fifteen "honor graduates," eight were Japanese, four Chinese, three Caucasian and one Scotch-Hawaiian. A medal was presented that evening which had been competed for at a public-speaking contest some weeks before. It is significant that it was presented to Ernest Fujinaga, a Japanese boy. But it is still more significant that his subject had been "My Ideal of Character" and that his address was a tribute to Jesus as the supreme ideal of character. Here it is:

*A Japanese Boy's Speech*

"Character, it seems to me, is the most important factor of an individual. It is what he is; not what others know about him. However, it seeks outward expression through the mediums of his actions, manner, and speech, so that others, to a very great extent, can judge his character in terms of what he says and what he does. Let me depict to you my ideal character.

"I like to think of a simple person — simple in manner, simple in speech, simple in dress. In such a person I find honesty, kindness, sympathy, willingness, happiness. His honesty is not a painted one, but it is a true expression of his inward self. His kindness and sympathy, too, are real and true. He is kind to his inferiors, as well as to his equals and superiors. Even to the lower forms of animals he is kind and sympathizes with them in the time of their distress. He is willing to help. He helps others cheerfully and joyfully. His happiness is real and permanent. By being happy and content himself he makes others happy and content.

"I esteem highly a religious character. By a religious character I do not mean that he goes to church every Sun-



*Edgeworth Photo.*

McKINLEY HIGH SCHOOL "HI Y CLUB"

One of this group, a Japanese boy, won the public-speaking prize on "My Ideal of Character." His ideal was Jesus Christ.



day, knows all that there is to be known of the Bible, and observes all the religious formalities; but I mean that he practises his religion in what he says and what he does, that he is filled with the spirit of Love, that his life is one of service as that of the humble carpenter of Nazareth was. Before such a person wealth, honor and pleasure all disappear, and he is reduced to a simple and humble being, ready to do service to others.

“He who is my ideal character must possess high ideals — always striving upward, always attempting to attain a new and higher level in life. This, indeed, completes my ideal of character — a simple, religious person with high ideals.

“Christ of Calvary was such a character. Pilate saw no fault in him. The world sees no flaw in his personality. I, insignificant as I am, can detect no spot in his character. Into the family circle he brings joy, satisfaction, happiness, love. Into community life he brings the spirit of philanthropy. He is the ideal of the nation. Before him class distinctions all vanish away, and he becomes the ideal of the world. Is not he your ideal character? He who leads the army of the world, not with sword, but with Love; he whose personality and character have survived two thousand years; he who was simple, religious and with high ideals, unblemished and spotless, is my ideal character.”

### *The Gulf Between the Generations*

During my seven years' residence in Hawaii I have come to feel a great aloha for the Japanese. They are clean, courteous, thrifty, law-abiding, intellectual, eager to learn and very appreciative of kindness and honorable treatment. I have no question that the young Japanese born in Hawaii and educated in our public schools are growing up loyal to the best ideals of America. The Japan-born Japanese recognize very clearly that these children of theirs are in some mysterious way different and there is a deep gulf between the



*R. J. Baker Photo.*

A JAPANESE GIRL IN HAWAII  
Showing the influence of American environment.

Hawaiian-born and the Japan-born Japanese. Two Hawaiian-born Japanese girls recently drowned themselves in the sea rather than marry Japanese-born husbands selected for them by their parents.

*A Japanese Girl's Essay*

"Japs don't know how to treat a wife anyway," said a Hawaiian-born Japanese girl recently after getting a divorce. To her a husband born in Japan was a "Jap."

A more cheerful evidence of the influence of American ideals is to be found in the following essay written in 1922 by Asayo Kuraya, a junior in the Hilo High School. It took first prize in a territory-wide contest open to students of all races and sponsored by the Daughters of the American Revolution. All essays had to deal with how to be a good American citizen.

"To realize the ideal of our country I must be honest, brave, industrious, intelligent and democratic and constantly strive to promote the spirit of good will among all classes of people. I must place my country as to love and admiration above all others and be ever ready to contribute my all for the integrity of my country, for its glory and prosperity are mine.

"I must sympathize with others and respect their ideals and love for their own countries, thus helping to bring about better understandings and to strengthen the ties of friendship with other nations.

"To be of better service to my country and the people I must study the machinery of our government. I must read newspapers and the leading periodicals to acquaint myself with the current events so that I may be ever ready to do my share to accomplish my country's undertakings.

"I must be proud of my citizenship and always remember that I am not a subject, but sovereign in my rights; that this is a government of the people, by the people, for the people."

*Different Shades of Emphasis*

Of course it is inevitable that, in a situation involving so many variable factors as the Japanese problem of Hawaii, a little different shading and emphasis will change the picture. Much depends on the economic, social, temperamental, racial and religious background of the writer in interpreting so complex a social situation. Perfectly honest observers will report with especial emphasis the things which have come into the focus of their prejudices or predispositions.

*Statement by Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr.*

But, with the utmost recognition of honest differences of interpretation it is hard to be patient with such a false and prejudiced statement as that which appeared under the name of Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr. in the *San Francisco Examiner* of November 26, 1922. The following extracts from this sensational article illustrate a type of dangerous misrepresentation against which the American people should be on their guard. "Hawaii is lost to the United States! Hawaii can never be a state now. It may soon cease to be even a territorial possession of the United States. Hawaii is already, barring only Formosa, the greatest insular colonial outpost of the Imperial Japanese Government. Its affairs are indirectly controlled now by the Japanese Colonial Office. The day when it will be controlled by the Colonial Office directly, not to mention the War Office, is not distant in the expressed opinions of Japanese authorities themselves.

"Americans! Do you know that:—

"There are more Japanese in Hawaii than there are either whites or Hawaiian natives?

"Japanese can become citizens of the United States in Hawaii and then migrate to the States?

"By 1933 the Japanese electoral body in the Hawaiian Islands will decide at the polls whether there shall be a Republican or a Democratic form of government in the Islands?

“Twenty per cent of the entire population consists of Japanese citizens of the United States?

“The Japanese fully expect to gain absolute political control through their voting privileges. For the present they are content to control the Islands economically. . . .

“Tied by the immigration laws, the hands of government are unable to check the mad rush of alien unassimilable blood to the Hawaiian Islands and its incorporation into the body politic. The only thing the United States Government can do, and is now doing in a quiet but forceful way, is to continue the dispatch of armed troops to Schofield Barracks, Honolulu, the great military outpost of the United States in the Pacific.

“Where the ‘Gentleman’s Agreement’ between the United States and Japan failed to work on the American continent — failed utterly to check the inflow of Orientals into the United States — the ‘Gentleman’s Agreement’ does not operate in Hawaii.

“In consequence Japan is at liberty to send into that island territory as many of her people as she will give passports to.

“Hawaii is under the American flag but it has been practically conquered by the Japanese. It is to all intents and purposes administered as much by the Imperial Japanese Government as it is by the Federal Government.”

#### *The Plain Facts in the Case*

Now, over against the emotional and misleading statement just quoted, what are the facts? Just these: Hawaii is a self-governing territory of the United States with its own legislature, and complete governmental machinery. No



other section of the United States exceeds it in loyalty and patriotism. Japanese cannot become citizens of the United States in Hawaii any more than they can anywhere on the mainland. The Supreme Court decision in the famous Ozawa Case, handed down in November, 1922, held that Japanese are not capable of naturalization because of the Federal statute limiting that privilege to "free white persons and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent."

### *The "Gentleman's Agreement"*

As to the "Gentleman's Agreement" it is operating in Hawaii precisely as it does on the mainland. There is a rumor that it contains a clause by which, in event of a labor shortage, the Japanese Government is authorized to issue passports to laborers to Hawaii but not to the mainland. If such a clause exists, it was probably inserted at the behest of American capitalists, not of the Japanese; but the simple facts are that no passports to laborers have been issued since the "Gentleman's Agreement" went into effect. No one in Hawaii questions but that the Japanese Government has honestly kept that agreement as far as Hawaii is concerned. There has been no "mad rush of unassimilable blood" here.

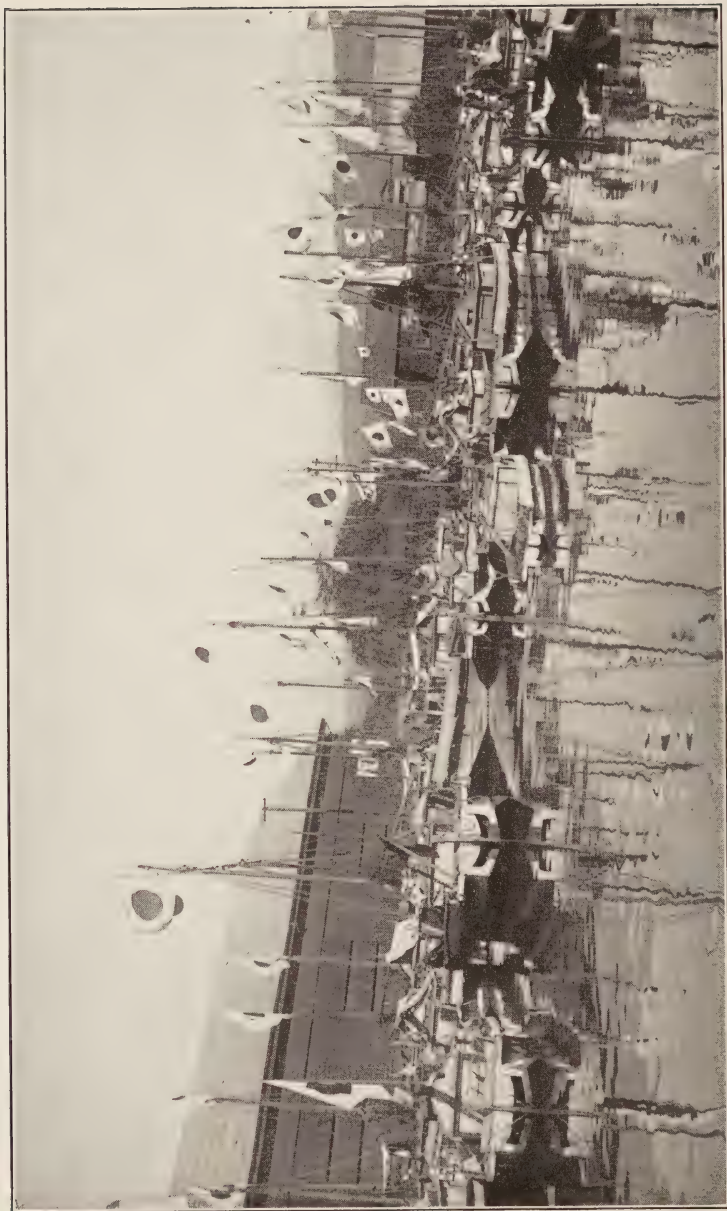
### *Japanese Economic Domination*

As to economic domination, the simple fact is that the great wealth-producing industries of the Islands, sugar and pine-apples, are organized and controlled financially by Americans. They employ Japanese and, increasingly, Filipino labor, although Chinese, Portuguese, Koreans and other nationalities are also employed in considerable numbers. In the small retail trades, the Chinese and Japanese find their largest field of operations and the Japanese do most of the lighter type of building. The large buildings, however, are usually erected by citizen labor — of Hawaiian, Portuguese and various other racial origins. Household servants are largely Japanese.

The large number of Japanese shops, restaurants, and other enterprises is quite natural in view of their proportion of the total population, and not relatively so large as that of the Chinese who also are efficient in industry. Some of the largest grocery stores, dry-goods stores, markets and planing mills are Chinese. The one industry which the Japanese seem to control most completely is fishing, and even here the retail end is all in the hands of Chinese.

*In Case of War!*

Of course any one can see at once that, in the event of war with Japan, Hawaii would face a peculiarly difficult situation with about twenty per cent of the population Japanese-born and another twenty per cent of Japanese parentage. Just imagine what would happen in New York if the United States got into war with the Irish Free State! But the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments, which has gone so far to clear up the problems of the Pacific, and the evidently declining prestige of the military party in Japan both give hope that peace and not the madness of war will prevail. If now the sensational press and everybody else concerned will cease this foolish and disturbing war-talk so that our young Hawaiian-born Japanese may not be made continually and uncomfortably self-conscious; and if Washington and Tokyo will keep the peace in mutual respect and good will — why then in the years that lie ahead we can promise you here in Hawaii young American citizens of Japanese ancestry equal to those of any other foreign stock in intelligence, thrift, civic pride, respect for law and loyalty to American institutions and ideals. In the meantime it should be remembered that no one ever questions the complete loyalty of the Portuguese or of the brown-skinned young people of the Hawaiian, Chinese, Korean and Filipino races. When one talks about “only 15,323 American-born citizens in the Islands” he forgets the 41,000 Hawaiians, 36,000 Filipinos, 26,000 Portuguese, 23,000



*Photo by Hill*

JAPANESE FISHING SAMPANS IN HOLIDAY ATTIRE

Chinese, 6,000 Porto Ricans and 5,000 Koreans — upwards of 140,000 people who, no matter what course the Japanese took, could be depended upon as beyond question loyal to the United States.

*Will the Japanese Ultimately Control?*

Visitors from the mainland, however, are apt to feel that, with the large numbers of Japanese everywhere in evidence in Hawaii, they will ultimately be absolutely in control. It is generally assumed, by superficial observers at least, that the Japanese have an overwhelming birth-rate, and that they will, therefore, sooner or later crowd all other races out and then, by their voting strength, capture the Islands for Japan. Before this would be permitted Congress would, of course, repeal the present "Organic Act" by which Hawaii has the status of an autonomous self-governing territory and candidate for statehood, and could reduce the Islands to the rank of an "insular possession" governed by a commission from Washington backed by military power.

*Professor Adams' Studies*

But is it probable that such a necessity will arise? Are the Islands likely to become "japanized"? A very interesting side-light is thrown on this question by some recent studies by Prof. Romanzo Adams who holds the chair of economics in the University of Hawaii and who has been making a scientific sociological study of the Japanese situation. These studies, as published in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* during August and September, 1922, and in *Foreign Affairs* for December, 1923, show that instead of having the highest birth-rate in Hawaii the Japanese birth-rate is lower than any other race's except the whites and the Hawaiians. Birth-rate figures are notoriously misleading unless based on the number of women of child-bearing age in a given area. On the mainland the number of births per 1000 women between the ages of 18 and

44 is about 100 among native born and 175 among foreign born. Here in Hawaii on the same basis, the birth-rate for the different races, as figured by Professor Adams, is: American and North European 97; Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian 236; Japanese 238; Portuguese 240; Chinese 257; Filipino 267; Spanish 316; Korean 326; Porto Rican 351. Concerning these very interesting figures, Professor Adams says: "The Hawaiian race is not a dying race but an amalgamating race, and in the distant years to come the blood of the old Hawaiians will flow through the veins of great numbers of people and in important quantities." "The fact that the Japanese have a lower rate than the Portuguese and Chinese who have lived here longer, is due to the more advanced industrial and educational development of their native country. The forces that reduce fecundity are already operative in Japan." Professor Adams predicts that "the birth-rate of the Japanese will be reduced rapidly until it approximates the average rate in the United States" as the Japanese take on more and more American ideas and standards of living. He also notes that the birth-rate of all races except the American and North European in Hawaii is high, the net gain over deaths in 1920 being 5601 or 2.2 per cent — "about double the rate of gain in Japan."

### *Japanese Rate of Increase*

But even though their birth-rate is not so high as some other races, will not the Japanese dominate because of their large head-start in numbers? During the decade from 1910-20 the census shows that Japanese increased 29,599 or 37.1 per cent while all other races increased 34,404 or 30.6 per cent. If this rate continues the Japanese will be 50½ per cent of the total population in 1975. But, as a student of sociology, Professor Adams believes this rate will not continue because of these factors: (1) An increase of death-rate will begin in ten or twenty years when our present Japanese population



now largely between 30 and 55 years old (men) or 20 and 44 years old (women) approaches old age. (2) Considerable emigration to the mainland is bound to take place among the better educated Hawaiian-born Japanese who will find too limited opportunities in the Island industries and who, as native-born American citizens, are free to live anywhere in the United States they choose. (3) This process will be further accelerated by the competition of other races with lower standards of living like the Filipinos and Chinese coolies, if permission should be obtained to bring these latter in as plantation laborers. Professor Adams' findings on this point are startlingly at variance, therefore, with the popular impressions. He says: "The Japanese will continue to increase in numbers but at a diminishing rate. They will be a diminishing factor in Hawaii. They constituted 42 per cent of the population in 1920. By 1930 they will be less than 40 per cent and then their percentage will fall rapidly until they constitute not more than 25 or 30 per cent of the total population."

### *The Japanese in Politics*

A similar statistical study based on the United States Census figures and other local data, making allowance for death and immigration, indicates that "the vote of citizens of Japanese ancestry will constitute about 29 per cent of the total vote by 1940, if the Filipinos and their successors are left out of account. Including such voters the Japanese percentage may be much smaller than 29 per cent. At no time will it approach 50 per cent and there is no prospect of their dominating the territory politically."

### *Will Japanese Form a Block?*

Of course it is important to remember that even a minority group may dictate if it holds the balance of power by forming a solid block in a divided community. Great interest, therefore, attaches to the tendencies of the Hawaiian-born Japanese



*City Photo Co.*

HANDS AROUND THE WORLD  
Central Y. M. C. A. street-boys gym class, Honolulu

to divide along other than racial lines. It is significant in this connection to note the cleavages in the Japanese community already mentioned in this chapter. As time goes on the bond of language will weaken, for the coming generations will use English with greater ease than Japanese, in spite of the language schools. The tendency also is for economic differences to arise and create common economic interests with similar groups in the general population. Statistics show clearly that the unskilled laborers are decreasing among the Japanese racial group while skilled workers and independent operators are increasing in all lines. An increase in the property on which Japanese paid taxes from \$4,502,536 (2.18 per cent of the total) in 1916 to \$9,419,773 (3.29 per cent of the total) in 1921 indicates an economic prosperity which will inevitably bring a deeper interest in general problems of community well-being.

#### *Importance of Fair Treatment Now*

Probably the decisive influence in either solidifying the Japanese into a racial block or distributing them among the normal parties and group-interests of the community will be the treatment they receive from the other races. If now in the day of their voting weakness they are treated with fair play and manifest good will and if, as increasing numbers of them qualify as voters, they are received with characteristic Hawaiian hospitality into the political life of the community, encouraged to vote and run for office, appealed to as human beings and good citizens, the chances are decidedly in favor of their blending in to our total citizenship. If a contrary spirit prevails among those of us who are already voters, we shall have only ourselves to blame for a solid Japanese block. The exigencies of practical politics will probably continue to break across race lines in the future as they have in the past. After all a vote is colorless and raceless — which basic fact all good politicians can be trusted to remember!

*The Problem is Ours!*

“ Our problem, then,” to quote Professor Adams in conclusion, “ is in large measure the problem of ourselves. We Americans — what will we do? My own firm belief is that, whatever the temporary manifestations may be, the permanent temper of America is favorable to a broad generous policy. America — the real America — is not given to excessive suspicion, fear and distrust. America is just. America is and can afford to be generous. America is confident and, if certain unfortunate mental attitudes induced by war cause us to move toward a policy originating in fear and suspicion, it will not be permanent. It will be abandoned when we return to habits of thought and action that have characterized the American people throughout nearly all our national history.”

## CHAPTER VI

### HOW TO HELP HAWAII

#### *Hawaii's Wide Influence*

It is to be hoped that every thoughtful American who reads this book will feel a hearty impulse to help Hawaii in meeting and solving the problems herein presented. Hawaii is America's interracial laboratory and our success or failure is vital both for America herself and for America's contribution to the larger problems of the Pacific. Not long ago one of our prominent citizens, returning from Red Cross service abroad, was invited to address the young men's club of the Second Chinese Congregational Church of Honolulu. "Where are the fellows I used to talk to here four years ago?" he asked. The answer was that half of them were back in China — two in government service, one editing a newspaper and the others in commercial positions!

#### *Permanent Congress of Nations*

Hawaii is a sort of permanent congress of the nations bordering on the Pacific and it is always in session. If Christianity fails here, not only in numbers but in its essential spirit as a creator of peace, interracial good will and industrial justice and humanity, it will fail most grievously, for the news of its failure will resound throughout the Pacific world. But if Christianity succeeds in Hawaii, then it will be easier for it to succeed everywhere else in the Pacific area.

#### *Still a Strategic Mission Field*

One way, therefore, to help Hawaii is to remember its peculiar strategic significance as a mission field even today. This does not mean that more denominations ought to rush





*City Photo Co.*

MID-PACIFIC INSTITUTE  
A missionary school for all races.

in and multiply machinery. The area is small and we have too many denominations already. But it does mean that those branches of the Christian church already at work have a tremendous responsibility to push their work at a maximum of efficiency and in the utmost possible cooperation with one another.

### Religious Forces

The present situation of Hawaii as a mission field is, in outline, as follows:

Total population . . . . .	284,000
Of these half are entirely non-Christian or . . . . .	142,000
The half under some Christian influence includes Catholic (population) . . . . .	68,000
Hawaiian Board of Missions (members) . . . . .	11,000
(Congregational in government, and largely Congregational and Presbyterian in origin)	
Mormons (members) . . . . .	11,140
Methodists (members) . . . . .	2,559
Episcopalians (members) . . . . .	2,250
Minor denominations (members), (est.) . . . . .	1,000
(Includes Seventh Day Adventists, Christian Scientists and Reorganized Mormons)	
Population affiliated with above but not members . . . .	46,000

Looking at these figures somewhat more in detail, the different Christian bodies report the following racial elements. (It should be noted that the Catholic figures are for population whereas the other figures include *members only*. They would be possibly three times as large if based on population. Some of these figures are only approximate but all are official and represent conditions in 1921-22.)

	Catholic	Hawn. Bd.	Epise.	M. E.	Mormon
Americans and North Europeans	3,500	2,147	1,194	424	100
Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians	12,630	4,680	424		11,000
Portuguese . . . . .	24,000	303			2
Spanish . . . . .	900				
Porto Ricans . . . . .	5,000				
Filipinos . . . . .	22,000	599		696	35
Japanese . . . . .	60	2,095	103	573	4
Chinese . . . . .	674	783	416		7
Koreans . . . . .	57		113	866	
Total . . . . .	68,821	10,607	2,250	2,559	11,148



CENTRAL UNION CHURCH, SPIRE

*A Challenge to Christianity*

The missionary challenge of Hawaii is, therefore, a very serious one. Take the Japanese situation alone. Here is a population of Japanese blood of over 110,000 only 2,835 of whom, or about 2½ per cent, are members of Christian churches. Yet their children are in public schools permeated with Christian teaching and are learning English, the language of the greatest body of living Christian literature in the world. A prominent Japanese from Tokyo, when in Honolulu recently, said, in private conversation: "I have observed the young people born here of Japanese parents. They are not growing up to be Buddhists. They ought to be Christians but unless you redouble your efforts I fear they will not be anything. I cannot urge them to become Christians for I am not a Christian myself, but I can say what I have just said to you and urge you to make them good Christians!"

*Why Not a Training Station?*

Is there not in this remarkable interracial civilization under Christian American influence something which would make it a valuable training station for social and religious workers destined for the Orient? Prof. G. A. Johnston Ross of Union Theological Seminary, New York, after a visit of several months, has made the very stimulating suggestion that there be established in Hawaii a missionary institute, possibly in connection with the University of Hawaii, where students could complete their training for missionary work and at the same time be in actual contact with the various Oriental races. The Y. M. C. A. is already encouraging a sort of cadet service in Hawaii as a preparation for foreign service and six of our secretaries in Honolulu today are ultimately destined for the Orient. In the meantime they are having before their eyes a working demonstration of what a transformation can be wrought in Chinese, Japanese and Koreans by favorable contact with a Christian civilization. The University of

Hawaii already has excellent departments of History and Sociology, English, Chinese and Japanese — the latter most ably occupied by Dr. T. Harada, a graduate of Yale and former president of Doshisha University in Japan. If to these could be added a strong department of Comparative Religions and these courses in History, Sociology, English, Chinese, Japanese and Comparative Religions grouped together to make up an Institute for Foreign Service, the result would be a very attractive center for study, combined with practical laboratory experience right here in the very midst of our interracial experiment station. Such a school of missionary preparation might well attract the best and strongest candidates for foreign service from all America. Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars would endow such an institution and bring to Hawaii a strong man as its dean and professor of comparative religions.

### *Hawaii's "Bill of Rights"*

People on the mainland can also help Hawaii by remembering that we are not an "Insular Possession" but a full-fledged Territory and a candidate for statehood. The Hawaiian Legislature of 1923 went on record very clearly as to the status of Hawaii by enacting what is called "Hawaii's Bill of Rights," the heart of which is as follows:

"The Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii hereby makes formal assertion and declaration of the claims of said Territory concerning its status in the American union, as follows:

1. That the Territory of Hawaii is an 'integral part of the United States.'
2. That as such 'integral part,' Hawaii cannot, legally, equitably or morally, be discriminated against in respect of legislation applying to the Union as a whole.
3. That Hawaii is a unit within the American scheme of government, with rights and powers differing from those of the states, in so far as certain features of a territorial



government differ from those of a state; but Hawaii carries all the financial responsibilities and burdens of a state, so far as the Federal Government is concerned, and functions practically as a state in nearly every other respect. It should, therefore, be accorded all of the benefits and privileges enjoyed by states, in respect of matters wherein its functions and responsibilities are the same as those of a state."

The reason for this explicit declaration was a growing tendency in Congress and elsewhere to forget or misunderstand the true status of Hawaii and class us among the "insular possessions" of the United States or at least leave us out of appropriations in which the states generally shared. Some of these appropriations are as vitally needed in Hawaii as in any state, notably those for education, good roads and farm loans from the benefits of which the Territory is now shut out.

### *Not an "Insular Possession"*

The reasons why Hawaii "should be accorded all the benefits and privileges enjoyed by states" in these regards and should not be classed as a mere "insular possession" are two, the historical and the equitable. The historical reason is admirably given in the Bill of Rights which shows that in the negotiation which preceded the treaty of annexation and in the treaty itself, as accepted by the Hawaiian government and incorporated in the Joint Resolution of Annexation passed by Congress, it was expressly stated that the Islands "shall be incorporated into the United States as an integral part thereof." Moreover the Organic Act by which Congress organized Hawaii as a Territory expressly provided, in Section 5, "That the Constitution, and except as otherwise provided, all the laws of the United States, including laws carrying general appropriations, which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory

as elsewhere in the United States." Under this law the Territory has received Federal assistance under the "Morrill Act" for the University of Hawaii and has also received aid from the Treasury Department for topographic and hydrographic surveys.

### *How a Territory Differs From a State*

The equitable reason why Hawaii "should be accorded all the benefits and privileges enjoyed by states," so far as its territorial form of government permits, is that "Hawaii already carries all the financial burdens and responsibilities of a state so far as the Federal Government is concerned and functions practically as a state in every other respect." It is recognized that Hawaii differs from a state in these five particulars: (1) Our governor and certain officers are appointed by the President. (2) We have no vote for President. (3) We have in Congress only a non-voting Delegate instead of Senators and Representatives. (4) Our constitution is an Organic Act enacted by Congress. (5) Acts of Hawaii's legislature can be repealed or amended by Congress, although this has never been done. Except in these five regards, the status of Hawaii is coequal with that of the regularly organized states.

### *Hawaii's National Service*

Now how does Hawaii measure up as a member of the Federal Union? We share equally with the states in the national defense. During the war the draft law applied in the territory exactly as it did in the states and our National Guard and Naval Reserve were also called into the service of the Federal Government upon the same basis as those of the states. We also maintain American standards of living and education. As already noted in this book, our public-school system, supported by local taxation, is ranked twenty-first in the Union — ahead of over half of the states.

*Hawaii Pays Her Way!*

Moreover Hawaii pays her own way and more. In 1921 our internal revenue contributions to the Federal Government amounted to \$20,680,103 — a sum larger than that paid by Maine or Alabama, twice as large as that paid by Utah, Arkansas or New Hampshire and twenty times as large as that paid by Nevada! In fact there were seventeen states, none of which paid as much internal revenue as Hawaii. In 1922 there were nineteen states below us, although the gross amount was smaller, \$15,515,063. Do not our contributions to the Federal household therefore entitle us to share fully in its budget? In addition to internal revenue, Hawaii also paid import duties amounting to \$1,426,716 in 1921 and to \$1,076,163 in 1922. In the case of "insular possessions" this sum would be returned to the local government, but not so in Hawaii. The whole amount goes to the Federal treasury. It should be noted also that Hawaii herself paid these duties, whereas the duties paid at mainland ports are largely shared by inland states having no seacoast.

Some one may say, "Yes, but hasn't the Federal Government spent large sums on the seacoast defenses and Pearl Harbor Naval Station in Hawaii?" Granted, but for whose protection? Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University stated publicly in Hawaii a few years ago, "I consider your fortifications simply a part of the defenses of New York and Boston!"

*Liberty Loan and Relief Work Record*

Hawaii has not only paid her proportional taxes, she has done free and volunteer service to the nation equal to that of any other part of it. "Every call for subscriptions to Liberty Loans and War Savings Stamps was apportioned to the Territory of Hawaii upon the same basis as to the several states, and in every instance the Territory of Hawaii 'went over the top' in the front rank with wide margins to spare."



CLASS OF 1922, MID-PACIFIC INSTITUTE  
(Chinese, Japanese and Koreans.)

*City Photo Co.*

The same statement is true of drives for Red Cross, Y.M.C.A., Belgian Relief, and Near East Relief.

For these reasons Hawaii feels that she is entitled to protest against the careless tendency to class her as a mere "insular possession," — she is emphatically not a possession but an "integral part" of the United States; and she feels moreover that in all appropriations for education, Americanization, maternity benefits, road building and other matters where her needs are equal to the needs of the states she has a right to equal consideration.\*

*Keep Peace with Japan!*

Finally mainland America can help Hawaii supremely by cooperating with us and with all men of good will everywhere in keeping the peace with Japan by the employment of all honorable means, including patient self-restraint, careful cultivation of all channels of international good will and co-operation, and the fair and sympathetic study of Japanese history, art, civilization and character and ideals.

*Pan-Pacific Union*

One of the most useful organizations in promoting such a better understanding is the Pan-Pacific Union of which Mr. Alexander Hume Ford is the director. This organization, though it has its headquarters in Honolulu, has branches and officers in all the countries bordering on the Pacific. By its promotion of frequent international gatherings in Hawaii such as the Pan-Pacific Educational Conference, Scientific Conference, Press Conference and Commercial Conference, it is doing foundation work in developing that mutual understanding and desire to work together for the common needs of humanity on which the future peace of the Pacific depends.

\* It is a pleasure to record that early in 1924 the United States Senate and House of Representatives passed the Hawaiian Bill of Rights substantially as outlined here, and that President Coolidge signed the bill on March 10, 1924.



*An Appeal to the Pacific Coast*

Keeping the peace also involves a definite policy on the mainland of giving to the Japanese now in America courteous treatment, educational opportunity and Christian teaching. As a resident of California for over thirty years, I know conditions there and I am, therefore, not an advocate of the unrestricted immigration of Oriental labor. But I do plead for generous, warm-hearted, brotherly treatment of the Japanese already in America. The presence of the Japanese on the Pacific Coast is a challenge to the Christian churches, at least, to give them not merely formal Christian doctrine, not merely mission Sunday schools and preaching, but to continue to give them an exhibition of that Christian brotherhood, fair play, humane treatment and sympathetic good will which are the realities of Christ's gospel without which mere doctrine and ritual are vain.

*A Bridge of Good Will*

A school man in San Jose told me that fifty per cent of the pupils in his district were Japanese. I said to him, "You have probably the most important school in Santa Clara County, and it ought to be the best school! You ought to be giving these little Oriental children the noblest possible interpretation of Western civilization. You are building a bridge between Japan and America!"

After all that is just what Hawaii means — a human bridge of international good will and understanding between East and West!

# HAWAIIANA

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